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Compromise reached in North-South talks

In 1974 the developing countries made use of their numerical majority at the United Nations to proclaim an UN charter of states' economic rights and duties at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

The poor countries have since had at their disposal a far-reaching strategy in the commodities debate, that of equalising prosperity. The rich, by contrast, have no more than tactics to which to resort, and even tactics are by no means coordinated, frequently running against the grain.

Yet the political supremacy of the Third World, aided and abetted by the East bloc, entails risks for the developing countries themselves. Indeed, it may well ensure that they remain, for the foreseeable future, as poor as they have ever been.

Their seemingly so logical long-term strategy is probably the reason why. In order to maintain a united front despite conflicting interests, the Third World is given to abstract generalisations.

Maximum demands are proclaimed in a non-committal manner, with the result that nothing comes of them. As a general rule the developing countries lack the ability to compromise. It alone would enable them to pursue a progressive, step-by-step policy.

This tendency is most marked at the UN General Assembly, where small and out-of-the-way countries such as Upper Volta have equal voting rights with, say, India — a huge sub-continent reeling under the burden of religion.

There is not a single delegate who would admit that a majority of poor countries are far harder hit by price cartels, say, than the industrialised countries which are supposed to be to blame for their penury.

The developing countries have not even learnt their lesson from Opec, the only commodity cartel that has yet proved a success. Soaring oil prices have made a handful of petroleum exporters fabulously rich and hit the industrialised countries hard.

But the free-market economies have, in comparison with others, overcome the shock of oil price rises, whereas the poorer developing countries have ever since been incapable of balancing payments by themselves.

On the credit side of the account the underdeveloped countries naturally retain a number of disadvantages for which they themselves are not entirely to blame.

Nearly all of them are at a geographical or climatic disadvantage in comparison with others. Many erstwhile colonies are still single-crop economies and abjectly dependent on commodity markets. Copper prices are a case in point, having moved up and down by more than 100 per cent in recent years.

In Latin America in particular the poor countries seek to to compensate for their poverty by a Hispanic pride which often makes it difficult for them to debate rationally and impassionately with the industrialised world.

Yet there is much truth in the argument that most leaders of the coloured world who argue along nationalist lines either do not or will not see that general prosperity cannot be achieved by holding out a breadbasket; it is invariably the determination to succeed that counts.

It may, of course, be impossible to transform in next to no time a mentality that has developed over the centuries and been consolidated by religious traditions. But more often than not no attempt is made to promote a sense of responsibility at lower social levels.

This goes a long way towards explaining why, at the UN, there is continual talk of government or supra-governmental intervention, of the establishment of new international authorities such as the seabed authority envisaged within the framework of the law of the sea conference, with thousands of highly-paid administrative jobs, and of guaranteed maximum prices.

Only on sub-commissions that seldom hit the headlines is mention made of measures designed to train a farming community with a sense of personal responsibility, an able industrial labour force or class of craftsmen using up-to-date methods.

No one seems to want to know that the industrialised countries of today did not start out with computerised assembly lines either.

These, then, are the people on either side of the fence: on the one hand all manner of people united in their hardship and their expectations of life, on the other the industrialised countries enmeshed in their own problems.

Compelling forces motivate the industrialised world too, so there is little to be gained by launching missionary appeals.

Governments — democratic governments at least — feel they cannot afford to make serious inroads into living standards, except in wartime. After all, they have elections to bear in mind. All they feel reasonably able to consider is to share part of their annual growth rates with the developing countries.

The industrialised countries of the Wes have grown rich because their economies are based on the principles of efficiency and competition. Competition is, basically, their ideology, both within a country and between one country and another.

This is why the industrialised world is finding it hard to arrive at a uniform counter-concept to successive attacks on their prosperity and to draft an aid programme in which everyone will bear their share of the burden.

The preliminaries to the North-South talks in Paris, which were recessed again in December 1976 despite a modicum of progress (albeit partly because of the changeover at the White House), well demonstrate the point.

At the end of 1973, in the wake of the Arab oil embargo, America was considering action against oil producers. It now seems clear that a military occupation of the Persian Gulf was even under consideration at one stage.

Dr Kissinger certainly envisaged setting up a consumers cartel as a counterweight to Opec — his International Energy Agency. Fifteen Western countries were prepared to join in, but the idea was shelved because France refused to cooperate.

In Paris the French government saw how the oil-starved Dutch were faring and reckoned it could secure preferential treatment on account of what it felt to be its own more cordial relations with the Arab world.

It was months before the Frensch submitted to US pressure and went back on their plans to go it alone. France suddenly recalled that the Dutch, after all, supply northern France with natural gas.

President Giscard d'Estaing hit world headlines with a proposal for a commodities dialogue on 24 October 1974.

This was M. Giscard d'Estaing's first independent venture in foreign affairs. In Gaullist fashion he envisaged a European angle to the commodities debate as a counterweight to US proposals.

He also wanted to prove to fellow-Europeans just what could be accomplished in Paris — at a smaller gathering not attended by the East bloc countries.

Nineteen developing countries assembled on the one hand, eight industrialised countries on the other, with the European Community featuring as a bloc.

The project got off to a slow and intensely protracted start. The developing countries tried, under the leadership of President Boumedienne of Algeria, to carry on where they had left off at the UN.

But the situation changed during 1975 and 1976. Third World euphoria in the wake of the oil crisis gave way to a realisation that the recession was hitting the underdeveloped countries hardest. Europe, being blessed with a more flexible economic system, is in the process of recovery.

The most important point that has occurred to Arab delegations in particular at the Paris talks is the realisation how interdependent the world's economies are.

The oil producers have invested enormous amounts of capital in the West and have no intention of jeopardising their investments. By the same token the industrialised countries find it most convenient to have such well-heeled customers on their doorstep.

After two years of dithering it eventually looked last November as though agreement might be reached on an agenda wider in scope than originally anticipated by the industrialised coun-

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President Mobutu in Bonn

President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire shares a joke with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, in Bonn while on an unofficial visit to the Federal Republic. The President, who was received with military honours by Federal Republic President Walter Scheel, also had talks with Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Photo: dpa)

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■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Schmidt and Mondale differ on 3 points

US Vice-President Walter Mondale's world tour is the Carter administration's first venture into the rough and tumble of international affairs as they really are.

After the gentle breeze of change in Washington the new US government is beginning to feel some chillier gusts from its allies overseas.

Mr Carter, it will be recalled, is a novice in foreign affairs who has ideas of forging a new system of consultative relations. How can he be expected to take the news his Vice-President and special envoy has gathered?

Is he going to be brought to an abrupt halt in his energetic attempt to pave the way to a better world? Will other priorities, divergent interests and the cussedness of America's partners in world affairs halt him in his tracks?

Helmut Schmidt of all people was the man who brought the President back to reality with a few considered opinions on economic affairs divulged to the *New York Times.*

Now the Chancellor's views may have been to the point from Bonn's angle, but it was less what he said than the way that he said it. It was by no means the first time Herr Schmidt has demonstrated an unhappy knack of being undiplomatic.

The forthright tenor of what Helmut Schmidt had to say for himself was a mistake. Bonn's relative prosperity is going to prove a curse at this rate.

Increasing pressure is being brought to bear on Bonn to relax its policy of maintaining economic stability as the country's foremost priority and to open up domestic markets to imports by means of a government boost to the economy instead.

Flexible rhetoric is likely to prove a more successful means of containing this pressure than a gruff verbal dressing-down, and a flexible response is particularly advisable in the wake of Vice-President Mondale's visit to Bonn,

While Mr Mondale's talks revealed that the two governments still have much in common, views evidently differed on three major issues.

First, President Carter envisages America, Japan and this country gaily stepping up consumption and investment in order to lift the world out of its current economic recession.

All three countries are expected to reflate merrily, but Chancellor Schmidt feels Bonn's more cautious economic policies are better suited to meet international economic requirements.

By virtue of not living above its means, this country has been able to bale out hard-pressed neighbours by contributing substantially more to EEC funds than it has received from the Common Market.

Bonn has also been able to lend a hand by participating in IMF loan arrangements and by undertaking support measures to shore up ailing currencies.

Were this country to depart from the straight and narrow, casting thrift to the winds, the last tower of economic strength and stability in Europe would be in jeopardy, the Chancellor argues.

This, the argument continues, can hardly be what President Carter has in mind. Mr. Carter himself has only recently given a lead in thrift, pledging to invest a mere 30,000 million dollars in fighting unemployment over the next two years. This can only be rated a mini-programme in view of America's eight million jobless.

Second, President Carter's call for an international reduction in arms trading is welcomed in Bonn, where government officials feel they have a clear conscience, whereas America must first put its own house in order.

Bonn does not see a direct link between the call for arms cuts and this country's nuclear technology deal with Brazil, but Vice-President Mondale left Bonn in no doubt that Washington is determined at all costs to forestall the export of processing plant for nuclear fuel.

This declaration of intent presents a number of problems. Trouble will lie ahead if Bonn decides to ignore the US demand. Yet Bonn cannot simply cancel the agreement with Brazil either.

A solution satisfactory to all concerned is anything but a foregone conclusion. It if comes about, it will only do so in the wake of tough and protracted negotiations.

This country needs both to secure markets for nuclear exporters and to ensure uranium supplies for domestic power reactors. Brazil's interest is in gaining unhindered access to uranium enrichment and processing techniques, while the United States is anxious to preclude the possibility of further proliferation of nuclear arms.

Third, Vice-President Mondale pilloried both in Brussels and in Bonn what he called the rhetoric of impotence. Anxiety is not the right response to the Soviet arms, build-up; what Nato needs is a brave new bid of its own. America is prepared to shoulder the burden provided its Nato partners follow suit.

A number of Mr Carter's advisers may be thinking in terms of increasing bilateralism in ties between Washington and Bonn, but this country cannot view the prospect with undue enthusiasm.

Helmut Schmidt and Walter Mondale rated their talks frank and extremely useful. In other words, they both spoke their minds. Mr Mondale will have heard plain speaking in other capitals too.

America's allies have yet to come to terms with the changeover from Ford to Carter and what it may entail. Many points remain to be clarified.

Walter Mondale's mission may help to ensure that the Carter administration is not hampered from the outset by a failure on both sides of the Atlantic to appreciate the interests of other members of the Western community. *Dieter Buhl*

(Die Zeit, 28 January 1977)

US steps up pressure on Bonn over nuclear fuel plant export

If the frequency with which politicians refer to an issue is any guide to the seriousness of their intentions, this country's nuclear technology deal with Brazil would seem to be in a bad way.

Still more objections to the agreement have been voiced, this time by Under-Secretary Joseph Nye of the US State Department.

Mr Nye has offered to guarantee supplies of nuclear fuel to Brazil provided the Brazilian government dispenses with the processing plant for nuclear fuel this country has agreed to supply.

This offer happened more or less to coincide with Vice-President Mondale's visit to Bonn and other European capitals.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and senior civil servants at the Foreign Office prefer not to make a song and dance about the latest US move.

Ever since US dissatisfaction with the deal between this country and Brazil was first voiced, Foreign Office officials in Bonn have stated their readiness in principle to discuss the problems this nuclear deal entails.

The chief bone of contention is that the processing plant this country has agreed to set up in Brazil could, in theory, be used to manufacture plutonium for nuclear warheads. The difficulty is that talks alone may not arrive at a solution.

In all probability the United States will step up pressure on this country and other potential nuclear exporters not to conclude agreements of this kind. Mr Carter's stated views on the subject are by no means the only indication that this is likely to be the case.

Under pressure from Congress the Ford administration also favoured tougher measures against nuclear proliferation. "Too little and too late" was Mr Carter's campaign comment on what the Ford administration had to say on the subject.

Bonn is also under pressure because France, which is not even a party to the non-proliferation treaty, has already agreed not to export nuclear processing equipment.

But there is counter-pressure on the domestic front. Jobs and technological advances on which a country as dependent on exports as our own rely hinge on the export of nuclear power stations.

Kraftwerk Union, this country's largest manufacturer, estimates that up to 200,000 jobs will in the long term depend on the export of four to five nuclear power stations a year.

So Bonn's policy on nuclear exports is obviously dictated largely by industrial interests and the government's viewpoint conveniently advocates the controlled inclusion of threshold countries in nuclear export deals.

The argument is that these countries are, in view of their technological know-how and access to the appropriate training facilities, in a position to go it along if need be. India is a case in point, having shocked nuclear exporters by exploding a nuclear device of its own in 1974.

Were an attempt undertaken to refuse threshold countries access to nuclear know-how, it would merely lead to uncontrolled nuclear development, including military uses, or so Bonn feels.

This view is diametrically opposed to the US government opinion that the export of nuclear technology must be banned on a worldwide basis until such time as a number of issues have been clarified.

These include the proliferation of sensitive equipment and the transport and final resting-place of highly toxic and radioactive plutonium and other nuclear waste.

Views differ on both sides of the Atlantic as to whether or not reprocessing constitutes a necessary and inevitable stage in the nuclear fuel cycle.

So Bonn is in a tight spot, both in nuclear exports and in building nuclear power stations at home. Can it afford to go ahead with policies that seem economically indispensable, but depend on the mere belief that problems of this kind will one day be solved? Can it afford to run the gauntlet of even more widespread political and psychological resistance to a nuclear build-up?

Viewed in the light of economic considerations one aspect of a moratorium on the export of sensitive nuclear equipment as envisaged by the United States merits special scrutiny.

It the moratorium is to work, all countries must abide by it, but how is it going to affect the competitive position of the various exporters in respect of their varying degrees of access to nuclear fuel? The United States has a leading role to play in supplying an answer to this question. *Eberhard Wisdorff*

(Handelsblatt, 25 January 1977)

Mondale visit a 'booster' for Berlin

Leading representatives of the Western powers were conspicuous by their absence from West Berlin for some time, but in recent weeks the position has been reversed.

French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud flew from Paris to outline on the spot France's role as a protecting power with responsibility for the divided city. Then came US Vice-President Walter Mondale.

Their visits have come at a time when the East bloc is incessantly casting doubt on (and indeed contesting) the Four-Power status of the city.

Mr Mondale's visit to West Berlin was certainly a demonstrative commitment to the rights and duties incumbent on the United States in and in respect of Berlin by virtue of its status as a victor of the Second World War.

The Carter administration, he told Berliners at Schöneberg *Rathaus*, has every intention of standing by these commitments. The United States will continue to guarantee the freedom and security of West Berlin and to include the city in detente policy, of which Berlin will be a touchstone.

As regards the 1971 Four-Power agreement, Mr Mondale declared that East bloc attempts to call into question the ties between Berlin and the Federal Republic endorsed in the agreement were invalid.

He was accompanied at his express request by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. There could hardly have been a more impressive demonstration of what the United States takes "ties" between Berlin and the Federal Republic to mean.

Hans-Ulrich Kersten

(Bremer Nachrichten, 27 January 1977)

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■ POLITICS

Brandt urges more efforts over jobless

"Full employment is a moral issue which takes top priority for the Social Democratic Party," said SPD chairman Willy Brandt at the SPD party conference in Bonn recently.

He called on party members to think carefully and without bias about suitable ways of reducing unemployment and about investments for a more stable and secure future.

Herr Brandt commented that the Government has already made some constructive attempts at this. The problems at hand now can only be solved "if they are tackled systematically" he said.

Making clear his absolute support for the Government Herr Brandt expressed his faith in its worth. "I know of no party member," he said, "who in his wildest dreams would consider relinquishing his governmental responsibili-

Herr Brandt was equally positive apropos the Social Democrat and Free Democrat coalition. "At the moment there is no acceptable alternative to the SPD/FDP coalition," he said. "Nevertheless this in no way means that either party must give up its own ideas."

Herr Brandt stressed that the party must do everything in its power to give the Government all the backing it needs. He impressed upon party members that they must put their position and their power to good use. He was, he said, appelled at how often some Social Democrats provide the Opposition with opportunities for easy victories simply through their own actions and views.

The SPD must make more effort to establish closer contact with the man in the street. This would boost the electorate's faith and trust in the party.

Furthermore, Herr Brandt continued, the party must regard itself as a forum for clearing up difficult political and social problems and now and then be prepared to diverge from tried and trusted lines of thought and action.

Herr Brandt went on to say that the SPD must concentrate on preserving what is established and of proven worth, but must hold out for justice and fairness wherever changes take place.

"Social Democrats are not there to build castles in the air, but it is still necessary to leave room even for hopes that perhaps cannot be fulfilled."

There must be no doubt about the SPD's attitude to communism, he continued. The Social Democratic Party will continue to work for democracy and to oppose all forms of totalitarian or authoritarian rule — even if it does call itself socialism.

In the discussion which followed Heinz Oskar Vetter, chairman of the Federal Trade Unions Association, returned to the issue of full employment. He said that work and acceptable working conditions for all must be government priority number one. He added that the planned investment programme should be upped to 20,000 million deutschmarks and be implemented immediately.

Herr Vetter repeated his doubts about this country's free market economy. If the present system was unable to guarantee full employment, he said, it is doubtfull whether it can be retained in future without emphasing the social obligations of private ownership.

Baden-Württemberg premier Erhard Eppler said the SPD must choose a definite course to follow so as to be better able to cope with future problems.

He said the party had reached a crossroads where the signposts were all either rusty and old or were pointing in the wrong direction.

Herr Eppler said that it was, for instance, necessary to re-direct the incomes policy. Gross differences must be levelled out, he said. Only people who have been earning below average wages can step up turnover of consumer goods.

SPD business manager Egon Bahr, referring to the pensions issue, put it to the 350 SPD delegates that "flaws in the party damage the government. Flaws in the government damage the party." He said that latterly organisation in the SPD had been functioning better from the bottom upwards than vice versa.

Herr Bahr said that in future the party would be more democratically organised. He warned his fellow SPD members that they must take care to express themselves in such a way as to be comprehensible also to the less well-educated. He commented that even Herr Schmidt occasionally gave interviews which come over like university lectures.

SPD vice chairman Hans Koschnick said that in last year's election campaign the SPD had rested for too much on its laurels and had made too little effort to present the public with definite, progressice plans for the future. He said that uncontrolled bickering within the party made it impossible to establish a definite plan of action.

Wolfgang Mauersberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 January 1977)

Rift widens between Coalition partners

The Social and Free Democratic coalition is beginning to look as if it is heading for the rocks. Recently it has shown unmistakable signs of stagnating. The two parties are neither able to make a determined, united effort to work well together nor to dissolve the coalition.

Egon Bahr, SPD business manager has warned his party it is "not doing well" at the moment. SPD chairman Willy Brandt, in a round about way warned the smaller coalition partner, the FDP, that "the FDP is scarcely liable to forget the balance the electorate is expectingg between the two parties of the Social-liberal coalition."

Replying to the SPD's criticism that the Free Democrats had more or less done the dirty on the Social Democrats in the coalition negotiations, Hans Friderichs, Minister of Economics and vice-chairman of the FDP siad, "If others involved in the coalition negotiations are unable to see the far-reaching importance of certain decisions and agreements that is no concern of those who can." The list of such more or less vitriolic exchanges can be extended ad infinitum.

Although the two parties have always had their differences, now, at the beginning of their third parliamentary term in power together, the gap seems to have widened appreciably.

After seven years their store of common plans and aims has not yet been quite exhausted, but it has diminished greatly.

Attempts at finding fresh common ground to work on have so far been less than successful — even allowing for the pensions issue, in which the Free Democrats would all too willingly leave the Social Democrats to carry the can. And attempts at playing down the gravity of the present rift between SPD and FDP are becoming increasingly transparent.

There are two main factors causing the present situation. The SPD is plainly in danger of imminent mutiny within its ranks because the majority of its members in the party and the unions no longer feel the SPD in Bonn is making adequate use of its powers to reduce unemployment appreciably.

Formerly they were prepared to accept an unemployment quota around the million mark as a temporary result of the slump and the sharp rise in oil prices. Now their patience is exhausted and they are voicing their discontentment and disquietude increasingly vociferously. And when even Chancellor Schmidt is attacked by "his own" people doubts are beginning to spread.

Past mistakes are another cause of present trouble. The pensions issue is not the only one over which discussions and debates have been delayed and prolonged until a crisis called forth a multitude of panicky emergency measures.

The same goes for the reform of the health system. Now the only thing that can stop the present escalation of costs in the system is drastically radical measures.

And as far as reforming the Civil Service is concerned a determined effort has yet to made — although umpteen plans, reforms and deadlines have been announced. Here again the Government seems to be prepared to let it came to a crisis before making a positive move. This would be the FDP's pigeon, but the Free Democras are apparently more intent on looking after the interests of its supporters than taking its overall responsibilities seriously.

A few days before the SPD party conference in Bonn chairman Willy Brandt came up with the slogan — "The SPD is neither a party of mere pragmatists nor one of mere theoreticians" with which he hoped not only to direct the course of debates at the Bonn conference, but also others up to the Hamburg party conference in November.

This attempt to ascribe a longer-term role to the SPD than is possible in Government plans for the present parliamentary term only, is at once laudable and dangerous.

The danger of destroying what remains of the cohesiveness between Government and party should on no account be underestimated. A rift here would either result in constant disputes and bickering or else be the first step towards withdrawing from government.

But there is little danger of this for the present. Admittedly the coalition between the Free Democrats and the Christian Democrats in Lower Saxony and the planned coalition between them in the Saar may prove to be the precursor of another such change in North-Rhine-Westphalia and subsequently in Bonn — but this need not be so.

At the moment the FDP is sticking with the SPD not only because of what still remains of value in the SPD/FDP coalition, but because, as Herr Friderichs says, a coalition with the CDU is "not attractive enough."

This may change. On the other hand the SPD/FDP coalition might get back on its feet again. Because of this basic uncertainty, conflict and compromise are going to be the order of the day for a while in Bonn.

Herr Schmidt's authority is also likely to suffer. Caught between the devil of the FDP's demands, the deep blue sea of pressure from his own party and his own views to boot, he will be forced into a position of having to compromise between the three in a way that perhaps does not correspond to his ideas of being Chancellor.

The outlook for him can be no less bleak than it is for others.

Hans Reiser

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 January 1977)

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tries, but more detailed than is usually the case at UN raw materials conferences.

Four sub-committes worked out proposals on energy, raw matcials, development and finance, and the issues on which views differ most drastically demonstrate how much more objective a view has gained the upper hand of late.

Take, for instance, the problem of a general moratorium on debts. The nineteen underdeveloped countries began by demanding a general moratorium on both interst and debt repayments by countries that are virtually unable to strike a balance.

What they had in mind was, to all intents and purposes, writing these debts off altogether. But the Third World delegations at the Paris talks now take a more realistic view.

A general moratorium would virtually mean that the countries hardest hit would have no hope of ever being granted a loan again, whereas the richer developing countries would gain an unfair advantage over their poorer brethren.

So agreement has now been reached along lines advocated by the West. Graduated aid will be provided towards interest repayments and favourable capital repayment terms awarded on the basis of a country's objective degree of hardship.

A similar compromise seems to be in the offing as regards price indexation, an issue that comes second in importance within a UN context. Initially the Arabs, especially Riyadh, wanted value safeguards for their capital invested in the industrialised world.

Commodity producers similarly wanted to peg raw material prices to the price of capital goods imported. It is now as good as definite that a compromise solution will be reached on this issue.

At present it looks as though this country, which will no doubt be required to foot more of the bill than any country other than the United States, favours a solution similar to the terms negotiated in Lomé, Togo, in 1974.

By the terms of the proceeds stabilisation agreement the European Community undertook, in certain specified circumstances, to provide 46 developing countries with interest-free loans whenever commodity producers are hit by grave earnings setbacks through no fault of their own.

The months to come will show whether or not the North-South talks are capable of providing disadvantaged countries with a genuine opportunity of making economic headway.

Hermann Renner

(Die Welt, 26 January 1977)

■ LAW

Baader-Meinhof trial judge steps down after accusations of bias

The presiding judge in the Stuttgart/Stammheim Baader-Meinhof terrorism trial, Dr. Theodor Prinzing, was discharged by his fellow-judges on 20 January on the grounds of prejudice.

At the beginning of the Baader-Meinhof trial in May 1975, Dr. Prinzing said in a television interview that he considered the case a task to which he was looking forward. Now, 20 months later, he gave the impression of a broken man as he packed his robes and left for home.

The two events are linked inasmuch as the one has led to other. Dr. Prinzing's concept of his function as a judge could not fail to give the impression of bias and thus lead to a disastrous outcome for him.

In asking to be entrusted with the case, Judge Prinzing was motivated by ambition, a pendantic sense of order, a love-hate relationship with the public and an indomitable drive to prove himself. No other judge was prepared to try the case.

Judge Prinzing wavered throughout the trial between strictness and leniency. Trying the case without a cohesive concept, he rejected all motions by the defence and interrupted virtually every argument.

At the very beginning of the trial he rejected attorney Heldmann's request for an adjournment in order to enable him to familiarise himself with the case. Heldmann had been appointed to the defence after Prinzing had excluded from the case a group of lawyers who were thoroughly familiar with the subject matter.

Judge Prinzing failed to recognise the seriousness of the motion that the accused were physically not fully capable of taking part in the proceedings. A panel of experts, however, ruled that the motion was justified and Prinzing had to sustain it.

On another occasion he changed the court record by making an impermissible insertion. And on yet another occasion he prevailed upon a journalist to change a report by omitting to mention that a particular statement stemmed from the judge.

In another instance he telephoned an appeals judge with whom he was on friendly terms in order to secure one of his rulings.

In talking to the appeals judge, Prinzing made some derogatory remarks about defence counsellor Schily, subsequently making a public statement that this remark was intended to place the attorney in a favourable light.

And finally, he telephoned one of the court-appointed lawyers for the defence, trying to dissuade him from filing a motion of bias against him.

This brief summary of such grave incidents bears witness to a neurotically charged atmosphere of mistrust and, in many instances, of hatred and animosity in which Prinzing, with escalating tactlessness and growing self-righteousness, kindled the flames of discontent.

In the end, the counsellors for the defence more and more supplanted legal considerations by sarcasm, and the accused saw themselves confirmed in their assessment of the trial.



Moreover, Prinzing's weakness was magnified by the enormous difficulties and adversities of this particular trial.

The judges had been exposed to stress over a long period, they considered themselves personally endangered and had to live under the constant scrutiny of bodyguards.

To aggravate matters still further, the accused were of a hitherto unknown aggressiveness, difficult legal points delayed the proceedings and attorneys for the defence were suspected of complicity. In the end, Dr. Prinzing viewed the latter as personal enemies because they only caused him difficulties.

Furthermore, Judge Prinzing had failed to prepare himself for the trial with the necessary thoroughness. Though he had memorised thousands of details and file numbers, he was unprepared for the specific peculiarities of a terrorism trial with merciless defence counsellors.

Judge Prinzing could have learned a great deal had he quietly studied the records of the Berlin Mahler trial where the presiding judge, Paul Jericke, was discharged as a result of an incautious remark. But he did nothing of the sort.

Following Prinzing's discharge from the case on grounds of bias there were many ill-advised assessments of the affair to be heard. Some said that any judge would have foundered on such a case, others said that the foul-mouthed accused would have got the better of any judge.

And yet, when Prinzing was discharged the accused had not attended the trial for many months.

The reason why the trial was so severely hampered by the all-pervading atmosphere of stress was Prinzing's own ambition and his self-righteous manner of conducting the case which only served to magnify existing problems.

One thing is certain: this judge lacked the soothing attitude needed in such a case. There is every likelihood that most other judges would have done a better job, notwithstanding the difficulty of the task confronting them. This is borne out by similar cases in Berlin, Karlsruhe, Kaiserslautern and Düsseldorf.

Judge Prinzing considered Stammheim his personal Way of the Cross which he had to take upon himself on behalf of our law and order state.

But he felt that, if he was to bear the Cross it was due to enjoy the support of the media which, as a matter of course, had to share his views on the conduct of the trial. The trial simply had to be "staged" according to schedule — a schedule which he viewed as the most important document.

The enormous pressure to which the court was exposed had its social and psychological effects which caused the judges to close ranks and sustain their president over an intolerably long period.

Any rejection of Prinzing was thus viewed by them as a loss of prestige. This had been their argument for such a long time that Prinzing's discharge now appears as his downfall although it is anything but dishonourable for a biased judge to withdraw.

It was a breathtaking moment when, on the 174th day of trial, the court reconvened without Prinzing. A murmur of relief went through the courtroom.

Still pale from his act of assertion vis-a-vis his former presiding judge, the new president, Eberhard Foth, announced the court's decision to discharge Dr. Prinzing and asked defence counsellor Schily whether he had any motions to put forward.

All of a sudden the trial atmosphere seemed purified and calm reigned supreme — a change which no one had dared to hope for any more.

The Stammheim trial is now entering into its final round in which the credibility of the witness for the prosecution, Gerhard Müller, has to be established.

Federal Prosecutor General Dr. Buback and the head of the Federal Criminal Investigation Office, Herr Herold, as well as Müller himself are expected to testify.

Dr. Foth is a rather deliberate judge who became conspicuous only once in the course of the trial when he angrily slammed his fist on the bench, irritated by a remark by one of the defence counsellors who enjoy the confidence of the accused. Judge Foth need not fear a motion of bias provided he has learned his lesson from Prinzing's legacy.

It is unlikely, however, that the trial will proceed any faster than hitherto. The defence will use this opportunity to seek out new weak spots, and it is quite possible that the trial will come up with some surprises in favour of the accused.

But the prosecution is not likely to change its call for three life sentences.

Hanno Kühnert
(Die Zeit, 28 January 1977)

Spate of murders leads to new call for death penalty

The recent spate of capital crimes among them the murder of the 5-member Krämer family in Brunswick, the child murders of Aichach and Stolberg, as well as the killing of kidnap victim Gernot Egolf — have revived the call for capital punishment in this country. According to latest polls, 73 per cent of the population would like to see the death penalty reintroduced.

But there is no chance that the death penalty which was abolished in the 1949 Constitution will be brought back. All political parties and the churches are agreed on their rejection of this punishment for grave crimes, including murder.

But even so, political and confessional organisations have kept re-opening the discussion on capital punishment time and again.

The helplessness with which the population has had to watch the recent series of capital crimes not only promotes cries of "off with their heads" in pubs, but it has also induced some politicians and church dignitaries to seriously ponder the question whether it is in all instances right not to have particularly brutal murderers pay for their deeds with their lives.

A "rightist" SPD dissident, the Brunswick city councillor and founder of a new political party, Hans-Günther Weber, recently came forward as the most prominent advocate of the death penalty in this country.

Under the paralysing shock of the five-fold Brunswick murder of the bank manager Krämer and his family he demanded the reintroduction of capital punishment.

Prompted by the macabre spectacle surrounding the execution in the US state of Utah of the double murderer Gary Gilmore, Weber suggested that murderers in this country be executed by a firing squad in future.

The advocates of the death penalty received additional impetus by the discussion on the question whether lifers should be released on parole after having served 12 or 15 years — a discussion which coincides with the latest spate of murders.

Moreover, the forthcoming ruling by the *Bundesverfassungsgericht* (this country's Constitutional Court) on the constitutionality of life imprisonment further stimulates the dispute about the correct retribution for murder.

Federal Minister of Justice Hans-Jochen Vogel (SPD) points out that the *Bundesverfassungsgericht* case was initiated by the State Court of Verden which refused to pass a mandatory sentence of life imprisonment against a man charged with murder. Herr Vogel said: "The Federal Government has not initiated this *Bundesverfassungsgericht* case as some circles maintain."

Bonn, said Herr Vogel, would like to retain mandatory life imprisonment for murder, though having an open mind with regard to parole after 15 years. Herr Vogel added, however, that not every murderer should be released after this period.

The Federal Republic banned the death penalty in 1949 because it had been wantonly imposed on millions of innocent people during the Hitler regime.

Moreover, the number of miscarriages of justice is considerable. Numerous people sentenced for murder would have been executed in the past close to 30 years although their innocence was established while they were serving their sentences.

The abolition of the death penalty was a late reflection of the ethical development in many civilised nations.

Thus, for instance, Sweden, Portugal and Holland have managed without an executioner for over 100 years; Norway abolished the death penalty in 1905, Iceland in 1928, Denmark in 1930, Italy in 1944, Finland in 1949 and Great Britain in 1965.

Northrhine-Westphalia's Minister of Justice, Diether Posser, SPD, said that "the reintroduction of the death penalty would brutalise criminals and induce them to have even less consideration for human life." The reason for this is that the risk for the criminal remains the same regardless whether he has killed one, five or ten people.

As a result, Herr Posser believes that kidnapping should not be punishable by life imprisonment, but by long-term imprisonment. If a kidnapper, he argues, has to expect the maximum penalty in any event, there is no point in sparing the victim's life. But even now, kidnappers must expect the maximum penalty even if they have only negligently caused the death of the victim.

Hans Wüllenweber
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 26 January 1977)

■ BUNDESWEHR

Soldier-students becoming too 'civilian-minded', officer claims

Officers belonging to the Bundeswehr (this country's Armed Forces) at present doing scientific study courses at a college in Hamburg are becoming too civilian-minded in outlook, according to a critical report just released.

The first 300 lieutenants moved into Hamburg's Bundeswehr College in October 1973 for a three-year full-credit science course to be concluded with a diploma.

At that time the rector, Professor Thomas Ellwein, said that the chain of command would be relinquished for the duration of the course.

And SPD Member of Parliament Alfons Pawelszyk, who was also on the Military Affairs Committee, augmented this statement by saying that the conflict between the role of an officer on the one hand and that of a student on the other must not be permitted to manifest itself in such a manner that "the Bundeswehr student studies in the lecture hall during the morning and receives orders in barracks in the afternoon."

Today, three years after the establishment of the college, a report by Colonel Dietrich Genschel shows that there is enough civilian spirit in the lecture halls to frighten the military brass. (There is a second Bundeswehr College in Munich; and Hamburg has in addition to the college the *Führungsakademie der Bundeswehr* — Bundeswehr Staff College — headed by General Wagemann, who was pensioned off prematurely last autumn).

The 1,700 officers at present studying at the Hamburg Bundeswehr College, which is housed in a former barracks complex in the precinct of Wandsbek, show clear signs of losing interest in further military training and of neglecting their personal appearance.

As a result of this "outward sloppiness", Colonel Dietrich Genschel advocates that the students be ordered to wear uniform when not attending lectures.

Moreover, Colonel Genschel favours a training which would be more closely related to the students' future military tasks and calls for "the use of military objects and examples in the course of specialised studies."

In his report, which has now been made public, the colonel, who was the military superior of the students and is now returning to his unit, observes that the officers at the college are more and more orientating themselves by civilian student attitudes. Last year saw the first full-scale disruption of the academic processes and there was growing political pluralism of opinion in evidence.

Colonel Genschel furthermore reported disapprovingly about the first "civilian type coalitions between students and teaching staff." The report goes on to say: "To draw a young man's attention to his sloppy way of dress today entails a great probability that the man thus addressed is not a student officer, but one of the teaching staff."

Colonel Genschel also expressly lamented the "ignorance of many professors" concerning military problems. The teaching staff consider normal military measures such as the checking of barracks "the beginning of a militarisation at the college."

With this in mind, the colonel suggested to the Ministry of Defence that all members of the teaching staff be expressly asked to take up quarters in Bundeswehr institutions.

Colonel Genschel pointed out that not all professors took into account that "they are not dealing with regular students, but with officers."

He said that "the head of the studies sector has neither the opportunity nor is he sufficiently qualified to judge the scientific qualifications of the teaching staff."

Colonel Genschel advocated that the Bundeswehr should not orientate itself by the peculiarities of examination procedures, but that, vice versa, examinations should take into account the planning exigencies of the Armed Forces.

As a rule the course of studies is concluded after three years with a state-recognised examination culminating in a diploma for the four specialised subjects, namely education, mechanical engineering, electrical engineering and economics or business administration. All this should, in Colonel Genschel's view, be accompanied by an educational process in which the student must not be permitted to forget that he is a soldier above all.

To this end, Colonel Genschel says, the influence of the academic staff on the students should be augmented by the influence of military superiors.


Colonel Dietrich Genschel (in uniform) lecturing his class
(Photo: Tell Winkler + Bunk)

The 18 specialised student officers who are initially entrusted with the task of playing the role of "youth hostel counsellors" should have disciplinary powers vis-a-vis the students similar to those of a company commander.

These should include keeping check on the student's performance and encouraging them to improve this performance where necessary or, alternatively, imposing disciplinary measures in the case of culpable failure.

Colonel Genschel concedes that, due to the public controversy concerning the necessity for a Bundeswehr College, the officers in charge had to be extremely cautious initially though their scope of authority has meanwhile been enlarged. "It soon turned out," says Colonel Genschel in his report, "that even the teaching staff had to be taken under the wing of the officers in charge."

The colonel added that, contrary to clear-cut regulations concerning the officers of the first study course (from 1973 to 1976), he wrote military assessments of individual students which "do not have to be revealed to the persons concerned."

The marks in the diploma, he went on, did not suffice since the students' units had to be apprised of the character development of individual students.

The colonel's report, which was severely rebutted by the majority of the students and the teaching staff and which is at present being studied by the Ministry of Defence, states verbatim: "The reservations expressed by the founding committee concerning the military assessment of students on the grounds that this would curtail the academic freedom of learning are outweighed by the requirements of the Bundeswehr and the studying officers themselves."

Dieter Stäcker
(Der Tagesspiegel, 25 January 1977)

Row over General Wagemann's premature retirement

The Ministry of Defence is under fire from the Opposition over the premature retirement of General Eberhard Wagemann, commander of the staff academy of the Bundeswehr.

But there is no need for Defence Minister Georg Leber to entrench himself, for the Opposition is shooting at him with blanks.

However even the sound of these blanks seems to irritate Herr Leber. In an interview with the mass circulation daily *Bild Zeitung* he said that they were "out to get him".

The premature (by one year) pensioning-off of General Eberhard Wagemann, commander of the Staff College of the Bundeswehr is, according to the Defence Ministry, a perfectly normal procedure.

Generals are frequently pensioned off prematurely without there being any onus on the Bundeswehr to give any reasons. In many instances a vacancy is needed in order to keep the staff carousel moving.

But the affair surrounding General Wagemann is not quite as normal as the Defence Ministry would like to make believe. Herr Leber himself conceded in the abovementioned interview that General Wagemann had caused him more trouble than any other officer.

The General, who has a reputation as a liberal and Bundeswehr reformer, took command of the academy in the autumn of 1974.

In 1969, at that time holding the rank of Colonel, he was the only officer to oppose the then Deputy Inspector of the Army, Grashey, when the latter in a lecture at the academy demanded that "the mask be dropped at last."

His boss, Army Inspector Schnez,


General Eberhard Wagemann
(Photo: dpa)

demanded in the same year that Government "profess adherence to German military tradition."

But after General Wagemann took command of the academy frictions arose between him and the Ministry of Defence which, a year ago, climaxed in the "Council Affair". General Wagemann gained the upper hand in the dispute because Georg Leber wanted to avoid an open clash or, perhaps, because he did not consider the matter important enough.

At the beginning of 1976, the then youngest General of the Bundeswehr, 47-year old Günther Raulf, commander of the Department for Applied Military Science at the academy, rebelled against the leadership style of his superior and worked out a procedural order the objective of which was to define the authority of the Council, a democratically composed advisory committee for the commander.

This procedural order went too far for General Wagemann; but because General Raulf insisted on it he had no choice but to accept a transfer to a Nato post in Brunssum. The attempt to strengthen the position of the Council at the academy had failed — for the time being anyway.

It might be asked why the Defence Committee and the Ministry of Defence did not back General Raulf instead of procrastinating by satisfying General Wagemann and removing General Raulf from the line of fire.

The most likely answer in that Herr Leber wanted to await a quiet moment in order to remove the head of the academy inconspicuously.

The fact that Leber supported Wagemann for so long belies the Opposition theory which claims that the Minister is subject to pressure from the Left.

It is certain that the general had no friends among Coalition MPs in the Defence Committee.

Major (Ret.) Alfons Pawelszyk, SPD defence expert and most certainly not a leftist, said, "I have less and less understanding for the fact that certain people attempt to avoid political decisions. It was a political decision when we decided to shape the image of an officer in a particular mould. Those who cannot come to terms with this must take the consequences."

Defence Minister Leber has relieved General Wagemann of the necessity to make a decision.

Hans-Anton Papendieck
(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 20 January 1977)

■ CAR INDUSTRY

Opel chief James F. Waters confident of another record year

James F. Waters Jr, 48, is the sort of man likely to stymie the panel of the popular TV show "What's My Line". And yet Mr Waters is the chief executive of a major automobile corporation, the Adam Opel AG in Rüsselsheim.

The panel would have it a great deal easier if the same question were to be asked about Robert A. Lutz, although the corporation headed by Lutz is considerably smaller. He was until recently the president of Ford in Cologne and has always put great stock by massive PR work which earned his company and himself as well as his unconventional ideas a spot in the limelight.

A question equally likely to stump any panel would be that concerning the most successful automobile manufacturer in 1976. The answer would in all likelihood be Volkswagen, for everybody knows that the VW *Golf* (known as *Rabbit* in the United States) was the undisputed best-seller and that in fact the entire Volkswagen line has shown excellent sales results.

All this is both true and false, for Opel's turnover rose even faster than that of VW in 1976, virtually reaching the figures of the big competitor. And yet, while everybody speaks of VW, virtually no one mentions Opel.

What causes this spectacular discrepancy between the public image and the effectiveness on the market? Could one perhaps say that, while the one makes the deals, the other earns the kudos?

Such a thesis goes very much against the grain for Waters. Sounding almost as though he spoke against his own convictions, Waters said: "It goes without saying that the personality of the chief executive has a bearing on results." But then he instantly weakened this statement, as if not wanting to promote his own image, by saying that he did not want to place himself in the foreground.

He considers any success that revolves around a personality vulnerable. It was therefore perfectly in keeping with this attitude when he said about his opposite number Lutz: "Though I admire him very much, I don't admire his style of management."

Of course, Waters has one major handicap in any of his public appearances, for he does not (as yet) speak German. It is not as if he did not consider this an important aspect — on the contrary — but this, as he himself put it in English, causes him the greatest difficulties.

Granted, this might be no more than a pleasantry; but Waters who, as opposed to his somewhat more outgoing predecessor John P. McCormack, has always been rather reticent, still manages to make even a pleasantry sound convincing.

But be this as it may, what he said about German makes sense. The only word in this context that seems inconsistent is the term "difficulties" for difficulties are unknown at Opel at present.

With an understatement that is so typical for him, the American Waters said: "The recovery (following the 1974/75 crisis) was particularly conspicuous where Opel is concerned." Lutz would have formulated the same statement very differently.

After all, 1976 was the best year in Opel's history. With its production of 920,000 cars Opel produced 40 per cent more than in the previous year. And the market share of Opel in the Federal Republic increased by more than 10 per cent, rising to a figure in excess of 20 per cent.

And in Western Europe as a whole virtually every tenth automobile is an Opel. And since — as opposed to VW — Opel operates on the basic business principle that profits should grow in proportion to turnover there is every likelihood that Opel's yield will be handsome.

Though, notwithstanding all this success, Waters sees no need to build a new factory as a medium-range project, he is nevertheless certain that 1977, too, will be a very good automobile year.

In fact, he believes that it will be every bit as good as 1976. In any event, the order books are a guarantee for an excellent beginning to the year.

James F. Waters, who has been at the helm for a mere ten months, is quite prepared to answer the question as to why Opel outperformed its competitors, for, as he put it, "I have had nothing to do with it." He then pointed out that

firstly: Opel's experts had anticipated the upswing earlier than the competition. As a result, while VW was still dismissing parts of its labour force, Opel was replenishing its staff;

secondly: At the beginning of the seventies Opel made "the right production decisions" without which the best of forecasts would be fruitless;

thirdly: Opel's quality has improved and, as Waters put it, "only five years ago we would have been unable to produce as good a car as today."

It is perfectly in keeping with Opel's strategy to achieve better than average successes with average cars.

Though no one at Opel would frankly admit that VW's more modern and as a result more costly automobile technology is better. Waters nevertheless concedes that he has no interest in producing cars with attributes such as "avant garde", adding that "that promotes only the image, but not sales."

To continue boosting sales new Opel models will soon appear on the market. There is every likelihood that, as an initial step, the *Rekord* will get a facelift — probably in time for the Frankfurt Automobile Show in the late summer.

The reason for this is that sales of this best-seller in its class are beginning to lag — especially in view of the competition from the *Audi 100*.

Moreover, there is every likelihood that Opel will come up with an entirely new *Admiral* in the foreseeable future. This can be deduced from Waters' remark that Opel wanted to remain competitive in the higher-priced class of cars as well — and this it can certainly not achieve with the present *Admiral*.

It is still uncertain whether Opel will — as the last of the automobile manufacturers — join the market with a "mini". This market accounts for 11 per cent of all automobile sales n Europe.

After all, such minis hold the least promise of profits. And Waters fears that an Opel mini would have an adverse effect on its *Kadett* sales. In any event, his competitors have had similar experences.

Whatever the final decision, Waters considers all this "perfectly normal management problems." And he should know, for his steep national and international career began with General Motors, the world's largest automobile manufacturer, which also owns Opel.

Waters joined GM in 1952. Seven years later he was a GM executive in Venezuela, subsequently becoming the chief executive of GM do Brasil. In 1973 he took charge of all GM interests in Latin America until joining Opel.

Another thing that Waters considers a "perfectly normal management problem", although he had never had to cope with it, is the Workers' Co-determination Act. Far from getting involved in the underlying ideology, he simply says that the whole issue has to be "viewed from a pure business vantage point."

And what about James F. Waters' career plans? This question, too, surprises him. After all, he says, Opel is — after Chevrolet — the largest of the GM subsidiaries. To head such an organisation must be a good enough position with which to end one's career. In any event, says Waters, "This is a lovely place," and in all likelihood he means the job rather than the city of Rüsselsheim.

Rainer Frenkel

(Die Zeit, 21 January 1977)

Boom year at Ford's, but company chary about more jobs

For this country's automobile industry, 1976 topped even the record year of 1971.

Well over 2.3 million automobiles were newly licensed in 1976: That amounts to an increase of 9.8 per cent over the previous year.

Hardly anybody would have forecast such a development at the beginning of the year. And since at the same time — due to more flexibility on the part of our domestic automobile industry — the share of foreign manufacturers on our market diminished from 25 to 21.5 per cent, the chief executives of West Germany's motor industry are rubbing their hands with glee.

The big winners on this country's automobile market in 1976 are the three mass producers Opel, Ford and VW, in this order.

Opel increased its market share from 18.4 to about 20.5 per cent, Ford from 13.6 to 15 and VW (including Audi-NSU) from 27.3 to roughly 28 per cent.

Ford achieved in addition to its hitherto largest domestic turnover (340,000 cars) an above average 45 per cent increase of exports to 438,000 units.

The Cologne company is thus this country's second-largest automobile exporter after VW. Small wonder, then, that Ford's production reached an all-time high last year with a total 813,000 vehicles (a plus of 28 per cent), among them 771,000 private cars, resulting in a turnover of about 8,300 million deutschmarks, which equals an increase of 30 per cent over the previous year.

Peter Weiher, who last summer succeeded Robert Lutz at the helm of Ford Werke AG, made it clear that profits, too, were splendid. This transpired in an interview with the *Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger*. In fact, never before had profits been as good as in 1976.

Weiher added, however, that this did not apply to profits in proportion to turnover.

This relation between profit and turnover is considered a yardstick of yield potentials. In 1975, this relation had reached 4.4 per cent for Ford in Cologne.

It can be taken as certain that the 1976 figure will show improvements over the previous year, though it will not reach the dream figures of the fifties and sixties.

But even so, these excellent profits are bound to raise the question whether it was necessary to raise automobile prices by five per cent at the beginning of 1976 despite appeals to the industry to exercise restraint. Ford had at that time spearheaded the move towards higher prices.

Peter Weiher's comment was that one must not consider only an isolated year, but must view such a year in context with the previous years, which were considerably worse.

It is necessary to create reserves during good years in order to secure the technologocal development of new products, to remain competitive, safeguard jobs and not to founder on financial reefs.

But Peter Weiher also concedes that, viewed from the vantage point of today, Ford would have made its profits even with lower price increases.

In February 1976, however, there was no one who could have predicted that business would pick up so dramatically. Sales expectations were exceeded and the opportunity of absorbing increased costs by improved utilisation of production capacities was better than initially assumed.

With a production capacity utilisation of 95 per cent Ford operated at the upper limits of what is generally considered possible.

Peter Weiher in no way conveys the impression that he is embarrassed to present the American Ford Motor Company, a majority stockholder, with excellent business results.

United States business makes no bones about the fact that profit is its prime objective; and the Americans have little understanding for the consideration given in this country to social equilability.

Weiher said that he would try to maintain the level of profits on turnover achieved in 1976. This means that rising costs will, whenever the market can bear it, be added to prices.

Like VW's chief executive Schmücker, Weiher considers it necessary to increase prices this year again, especially in view of the fact that production cost developments are relatively predictable.

Since the automobile industry is at present riding on the crest of a wave the end of which is not in sight as yet, the question arises whether this branch of industry will now create new jobs. Profits are good, and demand is at its peak.

In other words, conditions demanded by business as a prerequisite for investments, economic growth and full employment have been fully met in the automobile industry.

But this branch of industry has learned to be thrifty. Ford had to pay dearly in order to adjust to the crisis on the

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■ SHIPPING

East bloc freight war talks go on

If Transport Minister Kurt Gscheidle gets his way, the Cabinet in Bonn will, within the next three months, deal with the encroachement of East bloc shipping on this country's trade.

The shipping business hopes that this will improve its position with regard to the East bloc trade. Minister of Economic Affairs Hans Friderichs has pointed out that East bloc companies have a disproportionate share in the transport business.

This has had a particularly adverse effect on this country's shipowners.

Between 1960 and 1975 the East bloc increased its merchant fleets from 4.4 to 18.6 million gross registered tons, and according to the current five-year plan, these countries want to expand their tonnage still further.

The growth of the East bloc fleets is accompanied by protectionist measures for its own transport market. This means that West German shipowners can very rarely count on obtaining cargo for the return voyage.

As a result, 72 per cent of the cargo in the East-West trade was carried by Soviet flag and only 3.6 per cent by West German flag vessels in 1974.

According to the Federation of German Shipowners although there was no dramatic change for the worse in the recent past, there is plenty of reason for deep concern.

With the East bloc's state-owned shipping companies joining the North Atlantic Conference, they also have to abide by agreed-upon freight rates. But they still undercut on routes involving countries which are politically unstable as yet, as for instance in Africa. On these routes the East bloc usually undercuts freight rates by between 10 and 30 per cent and in some instances as much as 50 per cent in an effort to squeeze Western companies out of the market. The Soviet Union in particular makes use of its shipping in order to gain political advantages.

Another major motivating force in the rapid expansion of East bloc fleets is the earning of foreign exchange which is of paramount importance considering the foreign indebtedness of these countries.

This country's shippers, however, fear that stringent measures on the part of the Federal Government would adversely affect the chances for the sale of West German products in the East, Minister Friderichs also pointed out this danger.

The Federal Government had initially expected that Western shipping companies would do all in their power to maintain their position.

But, since this proved impossible, the Federal Government has now drawn attention to this problem as for instance at the cooperation talks in Moscow when Minister Friderichs broached the subject. The Soviets said that they were prepared to coninue the talks, and Transport Minister Gscheidle will resume negotiations shortly.

On top of this, the Federal Government will take a closer look at the problems involved. It is intended to let the East bloc countries know that Bonn is not prepared to stand by idly while the East advances still further.

Bonn will also make it clear to its EEC partners that this country views the situation with grave concern. For, whatever measures are implemented, they can only be successful if they are backed by the EEC partners.

As a last resort — with the consent of the shipowners — the introduction of quotas for East bloc shipping on specific routes is contemplated. According to Herr Friderichs, this country's foreign trade legislation is comprehensive enough to provide the necessary instruments with which to solve transport problems as well. *Hans-Jürgen Mahnke*

(Die Welt, 19 January 1977)

Crisis for shipyards as orders dwindle



While the major industrialised nations of the West are slowly recovering frm the worst recession since the end of the second World War, the world's ship-building industry — including that of the Federal Republic — is facing its worst post-war crisis.

The production capacities of the shipbuilding industry on a world-wide scale have in the past 15 years been developed far beyond the growth rates of the market.

They rose by 476 per cent, with Western Europe having a relatively modest 267 per cent share in this development.

The Japanese, on the other hand, increased their production capcity by a whacking 870 per cent, and are today in a position to offer their ships at prices 30 to 40 per cent below those of European shipyards — primarily due to low labour costs.

This cost advantage has enabled the Japanese to attract close to 90 per cent of all shipbuilding orders. This means that there is very little left for the rest of the world.

All attempts on the part of the EEC countries to apportion the anticipated shipbuilding orders for 1977 and 1978 at a rate of 50 per cent for Japan and 50 per cent for the other member nations of the OECD have so far met with little understanding in Tokyo.

Negotiations will be resumed within the next couple of weeks, but there is little of their production capacities will be reached.

In the period from 1979 to 1981, our yards will have to face the fact that very little of their production capacities will be utilised.

It is generally assumed that the work force of shipyards will drop to a mere 50 per cent of what it was in 1976.

In circumstances like these it is obvious that everybody must take care of himself first. Schleswig-Holstein's shipyards are fortunate inasmuch as their order books will provide them with work until the end of 1977. But new orders are only trickling in. The outlook is bleak unless Bonn provides speedy assistance. *H. Jürgensen*

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 19 January 1977)

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automobile market — a crisis which began in 1973 and lasted until mid-1975 — by reducing its labour force which, as Peter Weiher put it "cost a tremendous amount of money."

What he meant was the severance pay for redundant workers and pensions for those who retired prematurely.

All this has induced Weiher to draw the conclusion that the cost level and the extent of the labour force must henceforth be kept under strict control so that a drop in sales would not put the company into the red.

It stands to reason that Ford could not have made the transition from the depressed market to a boom market with a labour force reduced to crisis proportions.

But, significantly, in 1972 a labour force of 54,000 produced 706,000 vehicles, while in 1976 a labour force of 52,000 produced 813,000 cars. This comparison shows that the old labour force has a sufficient production potential to obviate the need for new staff.

Though a certain increase in the number of new staff members is planned, by and large the management wants to cope with the production requirements of the first six months of this year by overtime, since the forecasts concerning demand in the second half of 1977 are rather unreliable.

But this is contingent on agreement being reached with the Works Council which has so far refused to give its approval.

This would mean that very little new staff would be employed in the existing plants which, following the completion of the Saarlouis works where *Escorts* and *Fiestas* will be built, will have a technical capacity of 850,000 cars per annum.

Peter Weiher said that no plans for enlargement investments existed at the moment and pointed to the large plant which the Ford concern erected in Spain for the manufacture of the *Fiesta*.

That plant, he said, could also supply the export market of this country's Ford company.

But the Spanish plant can only provide relief where the *Fiesta* is concerned. The question remains, however, what will happen when, if the automobile business continues to boom both domestically and internationally, Ford approaches its objective of a 20 per cent share in the market.

"In that case," said Weiher with a smile, "we'll need a new factory." But he added: "we cannot make any business decisions on the basis of a hypothetical accumulation of all imaginable positive factors." *Gerhard Meyenburg*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 January 1977)

More than 200 German ships fly a flag of convenience

Safety experts and environmentalists are now joining in the revived discussion on the use of flags of convenience following the recent series of shipping disasters. Trade unions have been campaigning against the "cheap flag" concerns for some time.

Every fifth deep-sea vessel today flies one of these flags. Liberia heads the list of nations which provide flags of convenience, followed by Panama, Singapore, Cyprus, Somalia, and a number of smaller exotic island paradises. Bermuda, too, ranks among these nations, though primarily for yachtsmen.

According to the *Bremer Institut für Seeverkehr* (Bremen Institute of Shipping), the number of ships under flags of convenience reached 6,143 with a total tonnage of 95.4 million GRT by the end of October 1976. This equals an increase of 10.6 per cent within one year. It also means that every fourth gross registered ton is registered in one of these countries.

The term "flag of convenience" has been coined by the shipowners for whom these countries not only provide a most favourable tax rate, but also lenient regulations concerning costly safety standards — at least compared with the shipowners' own countries.

These advantages are further enhanced by extremely "liberal" conditions so far as crews are concerned. Since well-trained crews are a major cost factor affecting profits, it is only natural for the shipowners to seize every opportunity that would enable them to reduce these costs.

This country's shipowners are no exception, and many of them have joined the ranks of the "deserters".

According to the Federation of German Shipowners in Hamburg, a total of 220 West German ships with 1.7 million gross registered tons sailed under foreign flags as of 1 November 1976. And it is said that this figure does not include all West German ships.

But it is by no means true that most of these ships are obsolete and ready for the breakers' yard. And generally speaking, even those West German ships which sail under flags of convenience are staffed by German officers.

Depending on the route, the sailors are largely Indians, Pakistanis or Filipinos. Owners of tramp steamers frequently also employ men from the Gilbert Islands, Spaniards and Yugoslavs.

Ships operated by West German companies under flags of convenience have so far not been involved in major disasters. This is largely due to the fact that the German officers of these ships insist of maintaining European safety standards and that shippers, too, frequently insist on such standards.

Most of the ships under flags of convenience are on charter to their owners and operate in a market where they have to compete with ships under conventional flags.

But on a world-wide basis the accident quota of ships sailing under flags of convenience is much higher than that of those under conventional flags.

According to a study carried out by the OECD, losses among conventional flag ships amount to approximately one-quarter of those under flags of covenience. The group of "other nations" ranges roughly in the middle.

Most of the flag of convenience vessels are lost in the China Sea, the Malay Archipelago, the Caribbean and the Indian Ocean. These four regions combined account for 24 per cent of the total loses of flag of convenience vessels.

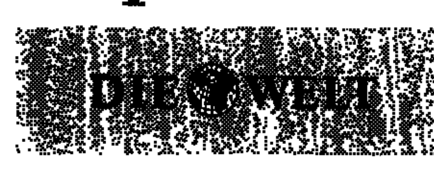
This fact also denotes the main area of operation for such ships, which have little chance of competing in the North Atlantic or Mediterranean runs, since highly-developed industrialised nations place high demands on carriers.

It would be unthinkable for a master who has bought his ticket in Panama for 50 dollars to be employed on these routes. But experienced Hapag-Lloyd skippers nevertheless give a wide berth to flag of convenience vessels they might meet in the Atlantic — even if these vessels belong to their own company which only recently registered ten ships in Panama.

(Handelsblatt, 28 January 1977)

■ **ENVIRONMENT**

While politicians dither, the Rhine remains a pollution scandal



"The Rhine is being cleaned up" is what people in every country along its banks have been hearing for years – almost decades. In the meantime, however, it continues to be one of the major pollution scandals of our time.

Official commissions have tried to keep everyone happy by announcing news of progress and successes on paper at least. But the truth is that at best the anti-pollution measures that have been agreed upon so far are only the first tottering step towards cleaning up the river.

The last such theoretical step forward was the signing of the so-called "Rhine Agreement" concerning the disposal of chlorides and chemicals in the Rhine.

But when this was signed in Bonn on 3 December there was a conspicuous silence about the fact that nothing yet has come of the agreement signed in the Hague in 1972 by Switzerland, France, Luxemburg, Holland and the Federal Republic whereby salt dumps were to be started at the Alsace potash mines at the beginning of 1975.

But the conference dragged on and on, delaying the start of the cleaning-up process. After conferences in Bonn (1973), Berne and Paris (1976) it was agreed that the dumps would not be started until the end of next year at the earliest.

In all 360 kilogrammes per second of chlorides flow into the Rhine. That corresponds to a fifty to sixty thousand ton freight of salt per day – a quantity that would need fifty goods trains to be transported on land.

According to the chloride agreement the quantity is to drop by twenty kg/sec. That is perhaps reason enough for Ministers to be talking of progress in cleaning up the Rhine. Nevertheless this represents only six per cent of the total flow of chlorides. And even if, as proposed, a further two cut-backs of six per cent each are made at a later stage this still means that 82 per cent of the original flow is still polluting the river.

Cleaning up the Rhine is an international problem that is not getting any easier as time goes on. De-pollution plans are way behind schedule and must be brought up to date. At the same time the pollution level in the Rhine is rising more quickly than purification processes can keep pace with.

The countries along the Rhine have to overcome the temptation to look after their own interests at the expense of the other States, and work together to purify the water – a task made all the more difficult by constant opposition from local authorities and industry.

Foreign political and economic considerations must be borne in mind. International effluent standards cannot be fixed at the lowest level possible. On the other hand every effort must be made to avoid unfair competition through having varying prescribed levels for waste in the different waterways in each country. The regulations for the Rhine must more or less apply to the Rhône too.

But above all the Rhine de-pollution process is a national problem for each country involved. The Federal Republic has, of course, the lions' share of this. Two-thirds of the Rhine flows through this country and is polluted here. And approximately eight million people are dependent on the Rhine for their drinking water.

The data and theories on the Rhine put forward by the committee of experts for the environment speak for themselves. Both technically and politically pollution of the Rhine must be got under control. But this cannot be done unless it is taken sufficiently seriously.

So far neither the public nor industry has been sufficiently well informed on the subject to have developed the necessary sense of responsibility. The board of control and waterworks officials have a list of two thousand unknown chemical compounds and other matter that flow down the Rhine each day. Just what is pumped into the river can best to answered by the factories that release their waste into it.

The toxic and dangerous substances in the Rhine listed in the chemicals agreement last year can only be regarded as the first move, not as a solution to the problem in any sense.

The factories using the Rhine as a handy waste disposal unit must be made to accept responsibility for ensuring that any matter they pump into the river is not dangerous and non-toxic, and will remain so indefinitely.

This is the only way to make sure that householders dependent on the Rhine for their drinking water are not used as guinea pigs for more and more new chemical substances which may do untold harm before their toxicity is proven.

Industrial concerns, small or large, have a clear moral and social duty to purify their waste before pumping it into the river. Prevention is better than cure as far as pollution is concerned and in the long run cheaper for the country as a whole.

Bearing this in mind, it is all the more astounding that a relatively small proportion of the population continues shamelessly to pollute the environment and then expects the country as a whole to bear the financial burden of cleaning up its mess.

The only effective way of altering this is by bringing in legislation making each concern responsible for purifying its waste matter.

Politicians let a perfect chance of doing this slip through their fingers when legislation concerning effluent disposal was passed by the Bundestag and Bundesrat last summer. Energetic lobbyies succeeded in watering down the original Bill by making rates for effluent disposal into the Rhine cheaper than the later costs of purifying the water.

Pollution and economic experts and the population in general were disappointed by the Act. They had expected it to contain clear-cut incentives for adopting more effective anti-pollution measures.

In a report submitted in March last year experts expressed their opinion that effective legislation of this kind would do much to improve the level of pollution even in the Rhine.

Inland waters and water supplies are the responsibility of the individual states and the parliamentary Rhine commission comprises chiefly politicians from parliaments of states along the Rhine itself – North Rhine-Westphalia, Hesse, the Rhineland Palatinate, Baden-Wurttemberg and Bavaria.

It is now up to them to bring the Rhine more into the limelight politically, to coordinate initiatives and work together to effect some change in the situation. They would do well to start with campaigns to get last year's waste disposal legislation amended.

One thing is sure: measures adopted so far have proved virtually ineffectual, and if the Rhine is still to be saved it is high time a stricter line of action was taken.

Benno Weimann

(Die Welt, 19 January 1977)

North Sea curbs on the dumping of toxic waste

The "Agreement for the prevention of marine pollution by waste from ships and aircraft", the 1972 Oslo Convention, was signed by the Federal Republic in November last year. The country is now officially responsible for maintaining the purity of its waters, particularly the German Bight and the North Sea.

The Federal Institute for Coastal and Freshwater Fishing has now announced that a special committee of the states along the North Sea coast has drawn up a "black" and a "grey" list of highly toxic and less toxic substances.

The black list contains substances which may no longer be released into the sea, such as mercury, cadmium, hydrochloric acid and DDT.

The grey list contains substances which may only be released into the sea in small quantities or under observance of strict safety precautions. These include highly toxic substances such as lead and arsenic, and other substances which constitute a threat to ocean life simply because they are being dumped in large quantities. These include waste matter from production of titanium dioxide.

Police patrol ships and aircraft will ensure that these regulations are strictly adhered to in future.

Since 1969 large quantities of these chemicals have been dumped in the sea to the north-west of Heligoland. The marine research ship "Anton Dohrn" recently left port to conduct biological tests in the area.

Not only chemicals, but also sewage from works on the coast has been pumped into the sea here. In addition the "Anton Dohrn" will also be looking for possible adverse effects of red mud which is a waste product of aluminium oxide production processes.

The Federal Republic has yet to sign the 1974 Paris Convention concerning the reduction of marine pollution from land, either direct through pipelines or via rivers.

When this, too, becomes law in the Federal Republic cities will no longer be able to pump untreated or semi-treated sewage into the North Sea. And a close eye will be kept on the pollution level in the larger rivers, the Elbe, Weser and Ems. The Paris Convention includes not only international waters, but also coastal waters and estuaries up to the fresh water limit.

The Federal Republic is also to sign the 1974 Helsinki Convention. This is a similar agreement to protect the Baltic. The Federal Republic, and in particular Schleswig-Holstein will have to make sure that no waste is released into the Baltic from aircraft.

The Helsinki Convention is the first agreement to make provisions to protect the sea from pollution by atmospheric waste from factories which is washed into the sea with the rain.

Furthermore steps are to be taken to prevent pollution of the sea by stores of toxic waste matter deposited on the sea bed.

The Federal Marine Research Institute in Hamburg has appealed to all fisheries in the Federal Republic to cooperate in preventing further pollution. They are report any poison gas bombs they see or catch in their nets while fishing near the site where munitions were dumped in the Baltic after the Second World War.

Lore Lorenzen

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 January 1977)

■ EDUCATION

Anxiety over career prospects haunts university students

Banners, stickers, slogans, rhymes and chants — and literally thousands of demonstrators are once again to be seen and heard in universities up and down the country in protest against the new legislation concerning students' grants.

The student revolt of the sixties that had long-since seemed to have burnt itself out, suddenly flared up again in most university towns in the middle of December.

By mid-January representatives of student unions and associations were making their grievances plain to all at press conferences and threatening to resort to "appropriate opposition tactics."

The scene is the same in the fairly moderate university of Cologne — neither a stronghold of student protest nor an oasis of academic peace. Demonstrations are being staged there just as in other parts of the country. Debates are taking place in all university committees and in the student parliament, where members of the leftist MSB Spartakus group are disrupting proceedings with monotonous regularity.

There are protests against over-filled lecture theatres and seminars, boycotts because of the price of bread, and political slogans on university notice-boards, handouts and even squeezed in among the graffiti in the lavatories.

The fire of the sixties really does seem to be still smouldering. In fact, however, although the outward signs of a coming student revolt are very reminiscent of the sixties, the unrest that is now coming to light has nothing in common with that time.

Now the battle cry is not for social changes, but for the means so exist. *In the sixties social structures and system* were the object of protest. Now it is the degeneration of students' status and standard of living.

The whole range of student organisations from the extreme left to the far right is united in its demands for an increase in student grants. And not without reason. The social position of students dependent on state grants has deteriorated sadly in recent years.

The only thing that has kept back the burst of protest up to now was the issue of university admissions. Even school-leavers with the highest grades sometimes cannot get a place at university.

According to expert calculations the highest grant is one hundred deutschmarks below the minimum a student needs to live on. The result is that a great many students are forced to incur debts in order to study.

Nearly one student in eight borrows money to supplement his grant. In Cologne the students association, Asta, has been inundated with students queuing up for the meagre DM150 they can borrow there.

Manfred Klimmek, a member of the Asta advisory committee, himself a student dependent on government grants, says that many students borrow money to pay back the Asta loan before the repayment deadline so as to be able to apply for a further loan immediately afterwards.

Basically, however, such small loans are a mere drop in the ocean, and even when parents are prepared to dip a little deeper in their pockets this is no way to survive for years on end.

So it is no wonder that students are beginning to say that universities are for the wealthy only, even though there are no precise statistics of the number of students who give up their studies because of financial difficulties.

Recently the cost of food, books, paper and rents have shot up dramatically. About thirty per cent of students pay *DM170 per month for rent alone.* Only twenty per cent found accommodation for less than DM120 last year. Yet in 1973 practically half the students paid no more than this.

Added to the fact that the general run of students' accommodation is not only expensive but cramped as well, every fifth student has to pay more than sixty deutschmarks per month just to travel to a fro between home and university.

The students' association, *Deutsches Studentenwerk* reckons that DM660 is the minimum students need to live and recommends in view of constantly rising prices that in 1977 the full grant should be DM690 — a not inconsiderable sum in view of the government's present financial straits.

Deutsche Studentenwerke is however less concerned about the ten per cent of students on full grants who, receiving only DM550 per month at the moment find it difficult to say the least to make ends meet. Its main concern is for the majority which relies partly on state grants and partly on financial support from their parents. This applies to about 35 per cent of students.

Last year they were placed in a particularly dire situation when the slight rise in grants and parents' tax-free allowance *(at the moment DM960, but* due to go up to DM1,100) to make up for the increase in the cost of living was shelved because of new economy measures.

Grants experts reckon that at the beginning of the present winter semester more than 3,500 students also lost all state grant because of the new education promotion Act, and a further 200,000 had their grants severely cut.

Even slight increases in parents' incomes worked out disastrously for some students, particularly those from large families whose parents were in the middle income bracket.

One 24-year old law student with two younger brothers and sisters has been getting 160 deutschmarks less grant per month because his father got a rise in pay and started getting an annual bonus of one moth's pay two years ago.

The father, now earning DM2,180 net is still only giving his son DM150 per month, despite the fact that his government grant has now dropped to 140 deutschmarks.

"He just can't give me any more than that. It's not possible", says the student. He is so short of money now that when he goes home at weekends, with his *mother's tacit consent,* he raids the fridge in order to tide himself over.

"I hope I can get by on what I've got plus some money that some relatives gave me at Christmas," he says. "After that though we ought to be hearing something about a rise in the state grants."

Some students take on jobs in order to supplement their grants — hard though they are to find at the moment. But for the law student this is out of the question, Taking a job would almost certainly add a couple of semesters to his course and after four years he will no longer be eligible for a state grant. And that would mean a premature end to his career.

When one 23-year old student the only child of a skilled worker started at university he received 155 deutschmarks per month from the government. But when his father's pay rose DM145 to DM1,360 per month he was no longer eligible for any state assistance.

Since then rows over money have become a daily feature of family life and, sick of having to beg for every deutschmark from his parents the student says he would "just as soon pack up the whole thing." He is now in his third *year at university. One 36-year old me*dical student who worked her way into university via adult education classes after her marriage broke up is now, in her third year, facing a very dismal future.

Up to now with a state grant, a special education subsidy and alimony from her ex-husband for their child, she has more or less been able to make ends meet.

But as from January this year she has no longer been eligible for the DM372 education subsidy she has been getting because of economy outbacks by the government. The Social welfare office have recommended that she supplement her DM550 state grant by doing night duty. This is of course impossible because she cannot leave her five-year old daughter alone at night.

The student was even more appalled by their second suggestion that she give up her medical studies and return to her former work as a foreign language secretary. Before deciding to take the course she had been assured by various official bodies that there were no financial hurdles that might later hinder her studies.

So unless the welfare office decides to help her she will be forced to drop her course. Five semesters in one of the most expensive university courses would then be down the drain — not to mention the fifty thousand-odd deutschmarks she has received in grants and supplements during this time.

There are hundreds, if not thousands of cases similar to these three at Cologne University alone. Can this be enough fuel to start up another major fire?

Asta, where down-to-earth realists have the final word and do not hesitate to take legal steps to bring troublemaking revolutionaries to their senses if needs be, is not ready to believe that these financial difficulties are enough to start up a full-scale student movement.

Asta chairman, medical student Reinhare Bauske believes most students are now too bothered about their own skins to step out of line to help the odd third of the students who have too little money.

"The law of the jungle has taken over here. Everyone is too busy looking after number one. And there are not a few students who are even prepared to do some very foolish things in order to outrun everyone else in the rat race for the secure and well-paid jobs."

Law students steal each others lecture notes; left-wing philosophy students feel that right-wing students in their faculty are spying and informing on them. And perhaps their nervousness can be forgiven.

Anyone who has ever been in a demonstration — even if it is only abou' expensive bread or over-filled lecture halls — is liable to have had his name put on the Office for he Protection of the Constitution's "black list". And that may well cost them a job later on if they seek to be employed by the state.

The atmosphere is not only one of aggression, but also of fear. Law students are frightened of jeopardising their future chances by not passing examinations well enough. Economics students are frightened of having to settle for being overqualified, underpaid bookkeepers. Sociology students' nightmare is of ending up as an insignificant office worker in the civil service.

These fears colour students' conversations, thoughts and plans for the future. And many are getting discouraged and giving up their high ambitions before they even leave university to start their careers.

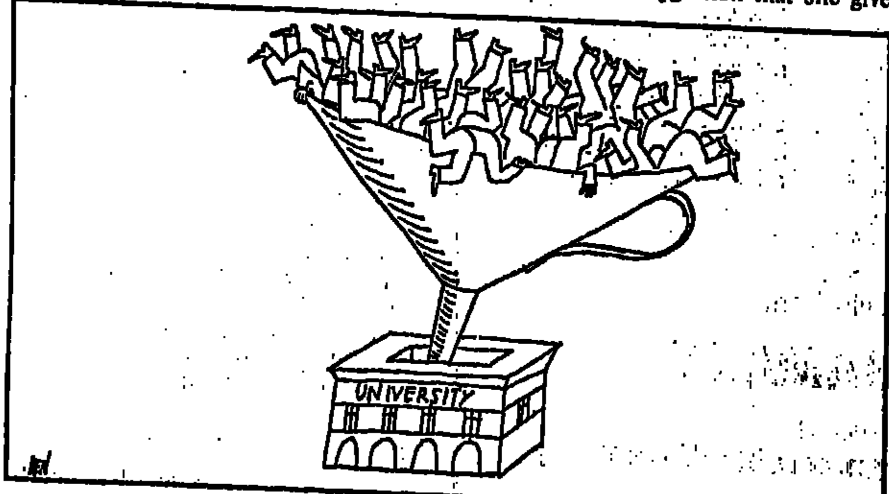
Ask as student today what he wants to do as likely as not he will tell you that all he wants is a secure run-of-mill civil service job. Even leftist extremists like the MSK Spartakus group are not averse to the thought of becoming reconciled with the state at the end of their studies and living happily ever after in a secure civil service job away from the struggle of competitive industry.

"Students are so worried about their future that they start thinking about their pensions almost before they've left school," as one vocational guidance officer put it.

Reasons for all this uncertainty, dissatisfaction and despair are not hard to find: the grim outlook on the employment scene; redundancies and cut-backs in jobs in administration; for teachers-to-be the fear of the extremist decree whereby no known political extremist can be employed by the state.

But, real as they are, these reasons are

Continued on page 14



(Cartoon: Gabor Benedek/ Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger)

■ TV AND PUBLISHING

New TV war 'shocker' upsets the Bundeswehr

The Third World War is in full swing. A staff officer takes a bridge out of the sandbox before him and squashes it in his hand, for he has just received a message to the effect that his own units have blown up a strategically important canal bridge in order to stop the enemy advance from the East.

This Third World War is taking place in a Munich film studio where the TV film *Kriegsspiel* (War Games) is being made. The studio shots will be completed by the end of January, and from then on the rest of the film will be made outdoors.

True, the whole thing is no more than a game at the moment. But the film is being made with such realism that the unwary TV viewer who will be watching it next autumn might well feel that what he is seeing is the real thing... So this is what the next war will be like.

The reputation of Wolfgang Menge, the film's author, and its director, Federal Film Prize winner Wolfgang Petersen, can be taken as a guarentee of authenticity right down to the last uniform insignia.

Menge provided the script for such films and series as *Millionenspiel* (The Millions Game), *Smog* and *Ein Herz und eine Seele* (One Heart and One Soul); and Peterson directed *Smog, Stellenweise Glatteis* (Scattered Ice Patches) and many of the popular *Tatort* (Scene of the Crime) series.

The film *Kriegsspiel* is being produced by the Bavaria Film Company on behalf of WDR, one of this country's major radio and TV networks.

For the sake of accuracy, the makers of the film insisted on cooperating with the Bundeswehr (this country's Armed Forces).

According to his press spokesman, Armin Halle, Defence Minister Georg Leber gave the green light, and Menge went to the Bundeswehr Academy in Hamburg to watch "paper manoeuvres" of an armoured brigade, for, as Herr Menge put it, his film was to become the documentary of a rehearsed, but not a real war.

The Bundeswehr subsequently deleted those parts of the manoeuvres which had to remain secret.

It was after this unusual experience that Wolfgang Menge wrote his script which he subsequently forwarded to the Ministry of Defence so that the "worst mistakes" could be corrected, and in order to clarify whether any secrecy regulations had been violated.

The Ministry of Defence then instructed Lt. Col. von Lossow to go over the script and to give the author a few pointers because, as a Ministry spokesman put it, "Far be it for us to exercise censorship."

Among the things corrected was the fact that manoeuvre headquarters are not guarded by a tank but at best by a sentry and that there are no civilian observers present at manoeuvres (which the script had depicted as being watched by a woman teacher and the mayor of a town, both of whom play major roles in the film).

The Bundeswehr also disagreed with the way in which the Italian Nato partner was depicted ("They simply run away") and, above all, the big nuclear blow which appears imminent towards the end of the film after Bulgaria's attack on allied Turkey. In the end, Herr Halle arrived at the conclusion that "this film is evidently intended to shock the viewers."

This opinion on the part of the Defence Ministry put an end to the cooperation; and the request for the provision of uniforms, tanks and helicopters was rejected verbally, the reason given being that this would be an interference in the private rental business.

The Munich producers thus had no option but to have the necessary uniforms specially tailored. A helicopter was rented from the aviation company Bölkow, but was unable to take part in the outdoor shots due to fog. In the end, however, the Bundeswehr relented and provided a chopper at short notice.

Producer Peter Märthesheimer believes that the main objection on the part of the Bundeswehr was that they felt that the film conveyed the impression that the Soviet Union and its allies could reach the Rhine within three days.

According to the Bundeswehr, this impression is conveyed by the fact that the manoeuvres are taking place along the Mittellandkanal and that the "Reds" succeed in advancing beyond Hanover on the very first day.

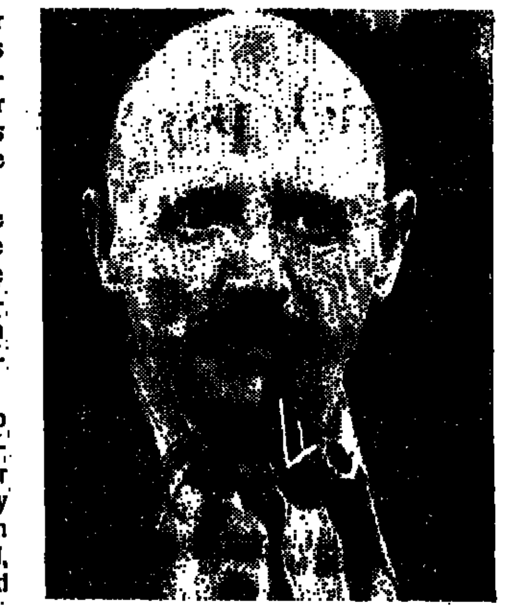
"After all," says a Defence Ministry spokesman, "we can hardly confirm that a war would in all probability take this course." The same spokesman adds, however, that "this shocker of a film comes very close to possible realities."

As a result the Bundeswehr must dissociate itself from the film in order to prevent the impression that this piece of fiction conveys the shape of things to come.

Producer Märthesheimer, on the other hand, stresses that the film is by no means intended as an "irresponsible shocker."

Karl Stankiewitz

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 18 January 1977)



Wolfgang Menge (Photo: dpa)

Effectiveness of mass media still unclear

According to Professor Josef Hackforth of Münster University, research has so far been unable to provide an answer as to the effectiveness of mass media.

This is the conclusion arrived at by a research team of the Media Institute of Münster University.

The team, headed by Professor Hackforth, has now presented a report on a research task commissioned in 1971 by the *Kommission für wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Wandel* (Commission for Economic and Social Change).

Professor Hackforth's research results are at odds with the results arrived at by the Allensbach Opinion Research Institute. According to the latter's analyses carried out in 1972 and 1976, television, for instance, had a decisive influence on the electorate's political views in the two latest parliamentary elections.

(Die Welt, 24 January 1977)

Feminist Alice Schwarzer launches a 'women only' magazine

The grey outward appearance and the somewhat dull-looking 63 pages of *Emma* the new German "magazine for women by women" published in Cologne are deceptive.

Although it may not look as bright as its more glossy competitors this new publication is full of verve and sparkle.

But, it is still unclear to whom this magazine wants to address itself.

Does it want to reach the legions of those as yet disinterested in emancipation (the magazine's name is derived from this word), women who are unlikely to forgo the gloss of conventional women's magazines, or does it perhaps address itself to women who barely read anything at all, or to those who have long ago recognised their position in society and are acting accordingly?

In any event, *Emma* is convinced that "we do not need to address ourselves to any such particular group... we know what we're doing."

"I have been waiting five years for this moment," says the publisher, feminist Alice Schwarzer, 34 — this country's most maligned woman, as she herself puts it.

The journalist and author Schwarzer says that she is publishing *Emma* because "there is no breathing space left for committed woman journalists in media that are dominated by men." She went on to say that genuine women's problems remain unmentioned in these media.

Alice Schwarzer, the leading spirit of



Alice Schwarzer (Photo: dpa)

this country's Womens's Libbers, was encouraged to take the plunge into the magazine publishing business by the success of her book *Der kleine Unterschied* (The Little Difference) which sold 140,000 copies at DM14 each.

She succeeded in enlisting the support of other writing combatants for the cause, among them the psychoanalyst Margarete Mitscherlich, who put her entire savings of DM100,000 into the pot. Others of her followers took up bank loans of up to DM10,000 each, thus raising the necessary starting capital of DM300,000.

It took only a few months to get *Emma* off the ground and printed. In this whole enterprise only the printers are male. As one of the editorial staff put it, "We'll even permit men to be secretaries, but no man has a word to say or write where the contents of our magazine are concerned."

Emma started with an initial print order of 200,000 copies at DM3 per copy.

Alice Schwarzer and her associates drew their courage to start with such a high circulation target from the fact that Ms Schwarzer's book was such a resounding success and that the annual *Frauen-Kalender* (Women's Calendar) achieved a circulation of 53,000 copies.

The four editors and more than 30 free-lance contributors have so far remained unpaid. Those who have advanced money signed a loan agreement with the *Emma* publishing house which stipulates a good interest rate should the venture prove successful.

Should it prove a flop, on the other hand, the investment will be deemed lost.

Emma will have to make it on the strength of its readership because the advertising business has so far failed to yield any revenue.

And to make matters worse the women running the magazine refuse to accept just any advertisement that might come their way. Says one of them: "No advertisement that is degrading to women will find space in our magazine.

"If an advertisement is meant to convince women that X-brand of soap will wash away all their problems or if an ad uses a picture of a woman in order to sell automobile tyres we'll reject it."

The editorial board, and above all Alice Schwarzer herself, are determined to make a success of their magazine. In fact, it is obvious from every page that Ms Schwarzer had to wait five years for her dream to come true. There are so many pent-up emotions in evidence in this first issue.

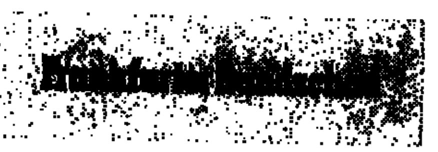
Some good and constructive articles in *Emma* are virtually lost in the outpourings of Alice Schwarzer herself. "To kill one's wife," writes Alice Schwarzer, "is no more than a lapse in gentlemanly behaviour in our society." And in another article she writes: "Men are loath to forgo one privilege, namely to make a woman pregnant."

Barbara Reinecke

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 25 January 1977)

■ HEALTH

Munich psychologist shows how babies learn from their mothers



Mother-infant relationships are the subject of an exhaustive study by Professor Hanus Papousek of the Munich Max Planck Institute for Psychiatry. Using cameras, video-tapes and tape recorders he has analysed in depth the main elements of communication between mothers and their newly-born children.

"A new and deeper analysis is simply indispensible in a field such as this where nothing more is to be gained from more superficial observation," says Professor Papousek.

So far research in this field has failed to supply sufficient information on how mother-infant relationships affect children's development.

However it is important to understand more about this since the early stages of mother-child relationships can be decisive for the child's later psychological developement.

Professor Papousek has been assisted in his study by the Federal Research Association and the Donors Association for German Science. His interest in this particular field of psychology grew from his long study of children's ability to perceive and to learn.

His research has revealed that a mother's actions and behaviour towards her child are very largely instinctive. Her natural impulse to teach manifests itself in innumerable small actions and gestures most of which she performs almost unconsciously.

This is demonstrated by research Professor Papousek and his wife carried out at Harvard University into the importance of eye-contact between babies and other people.

Eye contact with the mother is particularly important, and instinctively, while performing other actions with the baby in her arms the mother will hold the child at a distance from which it can best see her face — namely twenty to 25 centimetres.

"Eye-contact is not merely a source of pleasure," explains Professor Papousek. "It is also a signal for attention." Through establishing eye-contact with its mother the child signals that it wants her attention.

When it breaks eye-contact with her this is the signal that it has had as much outside stimulation as it wants for the time being. For the child this is an important and necessary defence measure against over-stimulation by too many new sensations and experiences.

Professor Papousek proved some time ago that children of only a few months have remarkably developed cognitive faculties and are able to recognise and adapt to everyday events and objects in their immediate surroundings.

He conducted an experiment proving how quickly children can learn, in which he showed that they can quickly be made to realise that by moving their heads sideways, for instance, they can "earn" a drink of milk. The head is the first part of the body babies learn to control.

Babies also learned that they could determine the length of their feed by another movement of the head, again adapting to the conditions of their environment.

Babies of four and five months had grasped the "rules" of their surroundings well enough to realise that by moving their heads two or three times they could trigger off visual stimulation.

It is clear that babies are capable of perceiving and reacting logically even before they can speak or understand speech. It therefore follows that infants' ability to think does in fact develop as a result of external stimulus to a considerable extent before language takes over and facilitates further thought processes.

Children's speech development is similarly dependent on external stimulus. In the course of his recent study Professor Papousek analysed in detail the way in which mothers speak to their babies.

He found that they not only use simple words and sentence constructions, but also instinctively articulate in a completely different way from normally.

Their speech is particularly rhythmical, their voices are frequently higher-pitched and acquire an unusually melodious quality. This change in speech signals to the child that his mother is talking to him personally.

Through this his attention is attracted and he eventually learns to distinguish sounds — at about nine months — and babbles experimentally to himself in order to learn to reproduce sounds at will.

Professor Papousek emphasises that all mothers are able instinctively to use this type of "baby talk" with their children.

Horst Meermann

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 22 January 1977)

Alcohol and nicotine can harm unborn child, women warned

DIE WELT

Women who want to give birth to healthy children should preferably be under thirty, give up alcohol at least during the first three months of pregnancy, give up smoking and take no drugs that are not absolutely necessary. Ideally the child's father should also be a non-smoker.

These are thre conclusions drawn from on "Gestation and child development" which has been carried out by the Federal Research Association. The study was commissioned in 1964 after the thalidomide tragedy.

A total of 14,800 women volunteered to assist the study. Of these, 7,800 became pregnant and during the first three months were examined at monthly intervals by a doctor.

The women kept a note of everything they did, ate and drank during pregnancy. Their children were examined by doctors at regular intervals up to the age of three. A total of 21 gynaecological and paediatric clinics were involved in the study.

Serologists, pathologists, microbiologists and parasitologists observed and treated any unusual developments that cropped up during or after pregnancy.

The data collected from this extensive survey was then evaluated by statistician Professor Siegfried Koller of Mainz University Department of Medical Statistics and Documentation, and Professor Netter now of the University of Düsseldorf.

One reassuring result of their statistical analysis is that taking pills and medicines during pregnancy apparently has no effect on the unborn child. This makes the recurrence of a disaster like the thalidomide one unlikely.

However, the report only says "there was no evidence of any adverse effects of drugs", not that drugs are definitely in no way harmful during pregnancy. For this reason the experts recommend that pregnant women do not take drugs which are not regarded by their doctors as essential.

The study is to be continued with an attempt to find conclusive medical proof confirming the statistical inference that children whose fathers smoke are liable to be less healthy, as Frankfurt genetician Professor Karl-Heinz Degenhardt told reporters. In all probability smoking damages the spermatazoon in men.

Further research will also provide answers to questions such as "should fathers never smoke, or should they only stop smoking three years or so before the child is conceived?"

The first part of the study has now been published and presents a complete analysis of the effects of mothers' behaviour and habits on her child during the various stages of gestation. Paediatrician Professor Jürgen Spranger (Mainz) commented "we now have real evidence to back up everything that we suspected before."

Friedrich Deich

(Die Welt, 20 January 1977)

Plastic surgery for mongoloid children

Plastic surgery may help to make life easier for mongoloid children from now on. Dr Herbert Höhler of the Frankfurt clinic for plastic surgery has developed a method of using plastic surgery to alter mongols' facial expression so that they no longer appear abnormal.

He hopes that this will help people to treat mongols more like other people and so give them a better chance to develop as normally as possible.

Dr Höhler has already demonstrated the success of this treatment with a fourteen-year old girl on whom he operated ten years ago.

The girl is now extremely lively, uninhibited in public, is doing well at her special school, has mastered the three Rs as well as anyone, is able to swim, ride a bicycle and go shopping by herself.

"Later that child will even be in a position to earn her own living," says Dr Höhler with some satisfaction. Until now this has been more or less unheard of in mongols.

Admittedly, despite the fact that they are quite definitely a burden their families, mongols are often the family favourite because they are particularly good-natured, sociable and affectionate.

However, in well-meaning attempt to spare the child and perhaps themselves from embarassing and hurtful incidents, parents are fequently inclined to shut the child off from society. They seldom go out woth them, do not take them to



A 10-year-old mongoloid girl after plastic surgery. (Photo: Hannoversche Allgemeine)

playgrounds or anywhere where other children might upset them by unwitting cruelty and teasing. As a result most mongols grow up more or less completely isolated from the outside world.

Plastic surgery obviously cannot cure mongolism as such. Mongolism is a congenital mental defect caused by the fact that the twenty-first chromosome is present in triplicate giving a total of 47 instead of 46 chromosomes. This is unfortunately incurable.

Nevertheless, as Dr Höhler insists, this is no reason for regarding all therapy as pointless. He hopes that his operation will mean a break-through in present attitudes.

The operation is carried out on three- to four-year old children and comprises six steps: Removal of the mongolian folds at the eyes; Correction of the eyelids; Reduction in the size of the tongue; restructuring the receding chin with an inlay; Removal of the double chin; And lifting the bridge of the nose.

All stages of the operation can be carried out at one time and therefore this need cause the child no undue or protracted suffering. Only the nose and chin must be reoperated on after a few years as the child grows.

Dr Höhler, whose operation has also attracted interest abroad, says, "the main problem now is to convince parents that they must do all in their power to enable their child to live as normal a life as possible. And the first step towards this is arranging for plastic surgery."

Irmtraud Rippel-Manss

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 22 January 1977)

■ MYTHOLOGY

Homer's Odysseus may have reached Heligoland, researcher thinks

Karl Bartholomäus, an Essen professor of topography, has developed a new theory about the wanderings of Odysseus as related by Homer. According to Professor Bartholomäus the King of Ithaca ventured to the very edge of the Ancient World in the course of his ten years of wanderings after the sack of Troy. He sailed past Gibraltar to the fabled land of the Phaeacians, which Bartholomäus claims was none other than the North Sea holiday isle of Heligoland.

"For six days those good men of mine feasted on the pick of the Sun's cattle they had driven in;" Odysseus relates in Book XII of the Odyssey, describing how his comrades sealed their doom on the Sirens' Isle by devouring the oxen of Hyperion the Sun.

According to one interpretation the scene of this sacrilege was, in fact, the erstwhile holy isle of Tenerife. Odysseus alone resisted the temptation and maintained his fast.

Near Gibraltar Zeus saw to it that they should never return. Disaster struck as Odysseus and his crew tried to sail between Scylla and Charybdis:

"Zeus thundered and struck the vessel with lightning. The whole ship reeled to the blow of his bolt and was filled with sulphur. My men were flung overboard and tossed round the black hull like seagulls on the waves. There was no homecoming for them: the god saw to that."

Odysseus too was cast overboard, drifting for nine days. But in the night of the tenth day the gods washed him up on the isle of Ogygia, the home of the goddess Calypso whose bed he shared for the next seven years.

Ogygia is said to have been St Miquel, an island in the Azores.

But Odysseus wanted to return home to his wife Penelope and his son Telemachus in Ithaca. First, however, he sailed for eighteen days to an island at the end of the Earth which Essen Professor Karl Bartholomäus claims was Heligoland in the North Sea.

In Book V of the Odyssey the goddess Calypso told him how to find his way to the land of the Phaeacians:

"It was with a happy heart that the good Odysseus spread his sail to catch the wind and used his seamanship to keep his boat straight to the steering-oar. There he sat and never closed his eyes in sleep, but kept them on the Pleiads, or watched Bootes slowly set, or the Great Bear, nicknamed the Wain, which always wheels round in the same place and looks across at Orion the Hunter with a wary eye.

"It was this constellation, the only one which never bathes in Ocean's Stream, that the wise goddess Calypso had told him to keep on his left hand as he made across the sea. So for seventeen days he sailed on his course, and on the eighteenth there hove into sight the shadowy mountains of the Phaeacians' country."

According to the latest theory the land of the Phaeacians was in what is now the German Bight. This interpretation is advanced by Karl Bartholomäus, 57, professor of topology at Essen, in the January issue of *Bild der Wissenschaft*, the Stuttgart scientific review.

His is by no means the first theory on the subject. Historians and laymen have outlined roughly seventy theories on the voyages of Odysseus over the past 2,700 years.

Odysseus has been stranded all over the place, all round Africa, in the North Sea and the Baltic, in the Black and Caspian Seas, off China and Japan and even at the North and South Poles.

Small wonder that Greek scholars dismiss theories of this kind as time-wasting poppycock, bearing in mind that the Odyssey is in any case a fable. But researchers refuse to be discouraged.

Leaving aside the more fabulous aspects of the tale, Homeric navigation is by no means fairytale. When the narrator gets down to salt water his tale is full of facts and hints for the man at the helm.

Perhaps the most indefatigable researcher to date was Ernie Bradford, a British naval officer who spent seven years following in Odysseus' footsteps, sailing all over the Mediterranean and adjacent seas.

Thrinacie, the sun god's island home, was Sicily, according to Ernie Bradford, and Scylla and Charybdis are in the straits of Messina. Calypso's isle is Malta and the land of the Phaeacians is Corfu.

This may be taken as the classical interpretation, based on the assumption that Odysseus sailed solely round the Mediterranean. Bartholomäus disagrees.

According to Bartholomäus Scylla and Charybdis are not off Messina, but in the straits of Gibraltar, mainly because the Ancient Greeks envisaged them as raging sea monsters responsible for high and low tides.

Tides are hardly apparent in the Mediterranean, so Scylla and Charybdis, Bartholomäus argues, must be at the gateway to the Atlantic, where high and low water marks vary between four and fourteen metres.

Thrinacie, the three-cornered isle of the sun god, then has to be Tenerife, which locals popularly call the "three-cornered isle."

Ogygia, the home of the goddess Calypso, thus cannot be Malta either. Homer describes it as a small, uninhabited island in the immeasurable expanses of the ocean, the umbilical cord of the sea.

St Miquel in the Azores was known until the eighteenth century as just that — the umbilical cord of the sea. So it would seem to fill the bill.

From St Miquel Odysseus must have sailed north-east on a course of 54 degrees to judge by the position of the stars Calypso described as it must have been in 800 BC in Homer's days.

Assuming Odysseus to have travelled at an average speed of four knots, he must have covered 2,000 miles or so in the course of his eighteen days at sea, which could have taken him straight from the Azores to the German Bight.

Homer's description of the island of the Phaeacians certainly fits Heligoland: "the thunder of surf on a rocky coast ..., nothing but headlands jutting out, sheer rock and jagged reefs."

Nausicaa's description also fits Heligoland better than Corfu: "This country and the city you will see belong to the Phaeacians ... Remote in this sea-beaten home of ours, we are the outposts of mankind and come into contact with no other people."

Yet Bartholomäus's theory still leaves a number of questions unanswered. He works on the assumption that Odysseus sailed on a boat, not a raft, which would easily have enabled him to maintain a speed of four knots. But Homer definitely talks of a raft in Book V.

Homer also mentions an encounter between Odysseus and Poseidon, god of the sea, near the mountains of Solymer, a people who lived on the southern coast of Asia Minor, which is a fair distance away from Heligoland by any standards.

What is more, Odysseus is claimed by Homer to have returned home to Ithaca from the land of the Phaeacians in a single night. If Heligoland was his starting-point he must have travelled at 150 mph as the crow flies!

But it is hard to say where fiction ends and fact begins in the Odyssey, certainly not at this stage of the proceedings. Yet the idea of a hero of Ancient Greek mythology landing on Heligoland is too entrancing to be a mistake.

Heligoland has its own fair share of legends. North Frisian clergyman Jürgen Spanuth, 69, reckons the tiny red-cliffed island is all that is left of the lost continent of Atlantis.

Hanau songster Wilfried Laurig, 35, bought the empire of Atlantis from a Karlsruhe notary-public in 1966 for a mere fifty deutschmarks. He now claims to be the Lord of Heligoland, King Roland I.

He will now have to decide whether or not he is the King of the Phaeacians too.

Guido F. Knopp
(Welt am Sonntag, 23 January 1977)

Heligoland (Isle of the Phaeacians)
St Miquel, Azores (Calypso's Isle)
54°
Route
Troy
Madeira
Scylla and Charybdis
Malta
Canary Islands Tenerife (Thrinacie)

The dotted line marks Odysseus' wanderings in the Med, while the black line shows how he sailed according to Professor Bartholomäus. (Map: P. R. Franke)


The cliffs of Heligoland (Photo: Archiv)

Students' fears

Continued from page 10

not enough to explain away the incredibly neurotic fear circulating round universities at the moment. No matter how bad the outlook is, graduates still have a better chance than most other sectors of the population of getting a job.

Admittedly their degree may not immediately provide them with a job. Just as in all other sectors of the population, the cream of the cream is going to have first pick of the jobs going. But they will practically always find a reasonable job, even if it is not the job of their choice.

Teachers-to-be certainly have a harder time finding a job than they did a few years ago. The extremist decree is a ticklish and highly controversial issue. But this is by no means a noose hanging over the heads of all students who want to teach. Most of them are actually more interested in money than politics at the moment.

The vast majority of students are in fact a lot less engrossed in politics than some of their younger lecturers. In Cologne Professors of Law are even complaining that students are interested in passing examinations only and take far too little interest in politics.

The present generation of students is a highly pessimistic one, lonely, and aggressive in lectures and seminars, with only a fixed idea of a career in mind. Either doctor or civil servant. Anything else is just a bit too risky.

But if it is neither the employment situation nor political fears then there be something else which is alternately cowing students and driving them to rebellion.

Could it be fear of not coming up to scratch in their later careers? Fear of having to stand on their own two feet and make their own way without support from anyone else?

Psychologists have offered many explanations for student's present attitudes and behaviour. Despite bared teeth and clenched fists many of them feel now that the students will probably calm down again for the time being. Perhaps the summer will not be quite so turbulent as a lot of people expect.

Marianne Quoirin
(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 22 January 1977)

■ SPORT

Custom-built athletes find height and physique are not enough



Berti Vogts, Borussia Mönchengladbach's terrier of a fullback, is a soccer star on whom his country will rely for many a season to come. But pint-sized Berti is an exception to the rule that height is a must in top-flight sport these days.

The volleyball net, for instance, is eight feet above the ground. To serve an ace or to volley effectively, players must be as tall as possible, not just caps, but at all levels of the game.

In indoor handball the new national squad includes a number of giants among its ranks. Goalie Bartke towers seven feet, while midfield stars Weise and Wunderlich are both six feet eight.

Height is even more obviously a must in basketball, where the rim of the net is ten feet above the ground. To net the ball on the rebound or from a distance basketball players need to be tall.

The average height of the Yugoslav team in the Olympic play-off at Montreal was six foot six, and their US counterparts were only a fraction of an inch shorter.

Soviet centre Kachenkov was seven foot three, while his women team-mates were up to six foot eleven. Didi Keller of USC Heidelberg, one of this country's foremost basketball clubs, also stands seven foot two in his stockinged feet.

With his arms outstretched Keller obviously does not need to stand on tiptoe to reach for the rim of the basketball net. Rebound play is no trouble whatever for a man his size.

The average height of 400, 800, 1,500, 5,000 and 10,000 metres finalists at Montreal was six foot. The average height of the crawl finalists was six foot one. No doubt about it, height is increasingly essential nowadays.

In an article published in *Die Zeit* last summer Christian von Krockow rated performance, competition and equality (social equality, that is) the guiding principles of sport.

"To achieve better or best performances, be it on field or track or in the economic sphere," he wrote, "not only must conditions be comparable and requirements uniform, but actual or potential competitors must enjoy formal equality."

In this article I intend to deal with the uniformity of performance yardsticks, with standardisation and norms and the opportunities and repercussions they entail.

Were it not for uniform conditions, such as the dimensions of the field of play, the height of the net, the weight of the shot, the diameter of the throwing-circle and other rules and regulations, the worldwide fascination sport undeniably exercises would be inconceivable.

Were it not for the game or event being played or performed according to universally valid rules and regulations people everywhere would be unable to identify themselves with their sporting heroes.

The Olympic soccer finals at Montreal were appreciated in equal measure by viewers in Iceland and Australia. Similarly, viewers in Nairobi have no trouble in appreciating a boxing world championship bout, while viewers everywhere can undersand what Dwight Stones' world record high jump must have meant.

Whether the thrower is an Olympic gold medallist or a qualifier for the humbler sporting proficiency medal in gold, silver or bronze, the shot-putt ring is invariably of the same diameter and the shot is the same weight.

Standardisation was a prerequisite of Baron Pierre de Coubertin's claim that sport, in which everyone is, in theory at least, everyone else's equal in each and every discipline, is truly democratic.

In the upper echelons of sport, particularly where every inch, ounce and second count, this standardisation has consequences Pierre de Coubertin might not have anticipated where record-breaking times, heights and distances are the objective.

Selection of the fittest is accelerated by daily training. Performances that rank among the world's best can only be achieved nowadays if quickness off the mark, the impetus that goes into jumping and the ability to coordinate physical and mental resources are properly trained.

To take but one example, this country's current youth champion in the triple jump is six foot one, runs the 100 metres in 11.2 seconds and jumps 7.35 metres, or 24ft 2in.

Or take the Fosbury flop in the high jump. The flop technique calls for a special physique. Successful floppers must be tall and narrow at the hips.

Ulrike Meyfarth, the Cologne teenager who won Olympic gold in the high jump at Munich, and Jacek Wszola, the nineteen-year-old Polish gold medallist at Montreal, might have been brother and sister, so alike did they look in terms of physique.

Talent spotters invariably keep their eyes open for youngsters of the right height and with the right build.

In disciplines that require endurance, on the other hand, the outsized heart that is such a help is not apparent to the naked eye. Harald Norpoth, one of this country's best long-distance runners in recent years, had an 1,180-cc heart.

Cyclist Rudi Altig had a measured heart volume of 940cc when he won the amateur world pursuit championship. Later, as a professional road racer, his heart grew to 1,260cc.

But Altig was a star of the sixties and has long since retired, whereas twenty-year-old Gregor Braun was a twofold gold medallist at Montreal less than a year ago.

Braun's heart has already reached the size of Altig's at his peak, so it is no wonder that Gregor is capable of record-breaking times in track pursuit.

In other disciplines it is brawn that counts, plus endurance of course, which is why anabolic steroids are so widespread among weightlifters and the like.

So athletes like Walter Riehm and Erika Wilms, both of whom boast rippling muscles, would appear, on the face of it, to have no option but to resort to bodybuilding drugs.

Young gymnasts, to take yet another example, have their wrists X-rayed these days to spot boys and girls with the right bone structure.

"Top-flight sport is a matter of biological borderlines," says Heinz Fallack, manager of the Federal Republic Olympic team at Montreal. "Doctors are needed to advise the athlete and enable him to reach decisions of his own."

Yet Heinz Fallack was the man who allowed team doctors to give single sculls world champion Peter-Michael Kolbe from Hamburg a performance-boosting drug that possibly cost him Olympic gold.

The injection Kolbe admitted to having been given proved highly controversial at the time, and the heated tenor of a TV debate on the subject showed that medical opinion is divided.

Professors Steinbach and Keul were only able to agree on what must be regarded as the lowest common denominator. While Professor Keul argued that performance is the chief end of Man, Professor Steinbach reckoned that performance must be boosted by training only. Anabolic steroids and vitamin jabs tend to render sport inhuman.


Seven-foot goalie Bartke (Photo: Horstmüller)

Norms and standardisation, particularly in the upper echelons of sport, necessarily lead to selective pressure exercised on and accepted by the individual athlete. Once the initial selection has been made and training schedules are carried out to the full, the individual athlete has no option but to resort to trickery and deceit to outperform others who are in every respect his equal, so much so that they might be identical twins.

The principle of equality is perverted by recourse to anabolic steroids, vitamin jabs and blood transfusions.

The shot may be the same weight, the ring may be the same diameter and the rules and regulations may be the same, but the food athletes eat and the drugs they take differ and will continue to do so no matter what officials care to say on the subject.

The emphasis must be on "morals not manipulation," says Willi Daume, this country's vice-president of the International Olympic Committee. "Athletes must refuse point-blank to allow themselves to be manipulated by doctors, trainers, team officials and politicians."

This is easier said than done, but in the end Mother Nature is not to be deceived. Sooner or later ligaments rip and tendons snap.

Horst-Dieter Kreidler
(Die Zeit, 21 January 1977)